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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Vol. II, No. 2 Winter 1991-92

This Quarter's Theme:

Getting Past the Immigration Taboo

An International Perspective

Featuring Articles by:

John Meyer, Canada
Katharine Betts, Australia
Jack Parsons, U.K.
Viktor Foerster, Germany

and from the United States

Dan Stein
Charlie Reese
James Walsh
Otis L. Graham, Jr.

PLUS ESSAYS, TESTIMONY AND REPORTAGE ON: economics, bilingual education, population growth in California, the proposed free trade agreement with Mexico, and upgrading the US labor force.

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A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Just over two decades ago, concern over rapidly growing human population led to the development of the so-called "population movement" aimed at reducing the rate of population growth, both at home and abroad. At home, for a variety of reasons, birth rates fell sharply to sub-replacement levels. Immigration, however, grew steadily due, in significant measure, to the burgeoning population overseas. Today, human numbers world wide expand at about 10,000 per hour, a quarter of a million each day.

The combined circumstances of low birth rates and high immigration pressures pose for all the developed countries the three most fundamental questions of immigration policy:

1. How many of the millions who would like to come shall we admit?
2. Who will be chosen to immigrate, and what should the criteria be for choosing?
3. How shall we enforce the rules we decide upon?

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT seeks to explore and illuminate these questions, by publishing new material, and also by pulling together and reprinting existing works from many now-scattered sources. Our hope is to provide a periodical devoted to the inter-related topics of:

— **Human population** questions, including its absolute size, rate of growth, and distribution. In nations with low natural increase and high immigration, immigration is a significant component of population growth. (In an ideal world, policy on immigrant numbers would derive in large measure from an overall policy on population size.)
— **Immigration** policy, especially as it relates to the three basic policy questions mentioned above: how many, who, and how?
— **Language, assimilation, and national unity** considerations, which in large measure derive from and are driven by immigration and assimilation policies.
— **The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities,** since, as with many issues today, population, immigration and language questions are often framed in terms of 'rights.' What is the proper balance of individual and community rights and interests?

Our method for approaching these connected issues is the time-honored concept of "The Social Contract." Most great public issues are basically moral and ethical ones: What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When 'rights' collide, which ones shall take precedence? The discipline of thinking through these issues in terms of a Social Contract allows one to achieve a balance: of individual and community interests; of the short and the long term; and of utopian idealism and the realities of the world we live in.

But most importantly, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT is not a detached forum for discussion in some backwater of life. Our issues are all in the forefront of public policy discussions in the United States, which is our primary focus. Our Editorial Advisors are drawn from many of the main organizations trying to influence the course of policy in the issue areas we have chosen. Our journal is one of the tools they use to raise questions, debate themes, and communicate ideas, all to encourage vigorous public debate and subsequent changes in our laws and public policies.

We invite you to join in this Great Debate by reading and contributing material to THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

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THE END OF THE AGE OF MIGRATION? Editorial

This may seem like a strange concept, given world events. There seem to be more people on the move now than ever before. In Europe, applications for asylum have increased many fold. In the new Germany, well over 200,000 are expected this year. Similar situations in the other countries of the EEC have brought forth governmental declarations that theirs are not "countries of immigration," as well as stringent proposals to modify statutes and procedures for controlling entry into the country. Europe, after all, is a very densely populated area. The Netherlands, where the population density exceeds 1,200 persons per square mile on average, is one of the most densely peopled nations on earth.

Elsewhere around the world: we all know about the tremendous unrest in Russia and Eastern Europe which, as some have projected, could shake tens of millions of people loose from their moorings. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees lists 18 million refugees worldwide, and according to some authorities, there are, in addition, something on the order of 20 million people in Africa who are displaced by natural or political causes.

All of this occurs against a background of constantly increasing human numbers. The world population increases at about 10,000 per hour, 250,000 per day, 90 million per year. Freedom House, in its annual survey of freedom around the globe, reports that three quarters of the world's 5.4 billion people live under conditions that are either "not free" or are "partially free." That comes to something on the order of 3 billion people. In China, the government has set the official poverty level at an income of $38.00 per year — and 50 million Chinese have incomes less than the 10 cents a day this amounts to. The push side of the migration equation is fairly clear, and pressures are steadily increasing.

On the receiving side, defenses are going up. All across Europe discussions are being held on how to control immigration, with calls for a common migration policy for all twelve EEC countries.

Of the 160-plus countries that belong to the United Nations, only three openly admit any appreciable numbers of legal immigrants. The United States takes perhaps one million per year (including a low estimate for the illegal alien flow in that count), Canada receives about 150,000, and Australia about 125,000. Summing these up, it comes to about 1.25 million — this total in the face of a pool of perhaps 3 billion people worldwide who could improve their circumstances immensely by migrating to one of the three immigrant-receiving countries. We need to keep in mind that the pool of potential migrants is increasing by about 80 million per year. (90 percent of the net increase of 90 million each year is in the less-developed countries.)

"...the vast majority of people will have to bloom where they are planted ... The age of migration is at an end for all but the tiniest fraction of the human race."

To make the mathematics easy let's say that, worldwide, about 3 million people are willingly received as immigrants each year, out of a pool of about 3 billion potential migrants. That's 0.1 percent. Even this flow — large in the view of the receiving countries, and small in comparison to the possible demand — is producing a marked reaction in the receiving countries and generating calls for strong controls. It seems highly unlikely that tens, or hundreds, of millions of people are going to be able to pull up stakes and move elsewhere.

Conclusion: the vast majority of people — the 99.9 percent — will have to bloom where they're planted. They will never be able to solve their personal or societal problems by moving away from them. The motto for the New World Order will have to be: "Stand and Fight," not "Cut and Run." The age of migration *is* at an end for all but the tiniest fraction of the human race.

Sadly, the few who are able to pack up and leave are often the very ones on whom their fellow citizens most need to rely for social change — those with some education and a view of a better future, those whose dissatisfaction can energize them to help bring about the changes that could make life more acceptable at home. If these people leave, how will change ever come? Should we pat ourselves on the

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back for facilitating their exodus?

Before our very eyes the world moves into a new era of the irresistible forces of demographic, political and economic push on one hand, and the immovable object of resistance to new migrants on the other. It seems only a matter of time until the United States, Canada and Australia join the other 160 members of the United Nations in deciding that they already have enough people — other considerations notwithstanding. What happens then? Would-be immigrants will have to look within their own countries for solutions. Paradoxically, the possibility of emigration now forestalls the development of this constructive attitude.

To explore this theme, two interesting and timely conferences were held last October in Washington, D.C. The first was sponsored by the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS). Immigration scholars, mostly of a restrictive persuasion, were gathered from half a dozen countries in Europe, and from Canada and Australia. Together they discussed the dilemmas facing them and laid the groundwork for future exchanges of ideas and strategies on what promises to be one of the hottest topics for the '90s.

The second was sponsored by the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) on the topic of myths and taboos in immigration policy, exploring the difficulties of discussing the immigration topic. One of the key speakers was Katharine Betts, whose essay "Immigration and Ideology" was our lead article in Vol. I, No. 4 of *The Social Contract*.

In this issue we bring you reports from both of these conferences, as well as related comments, book reviews, and views from around the world.

John H. Tanton
Editor and Publisher

Previous Issues of The Social Contract Available

Vol. I, No. 1 Fall 1990	Feature essay by Garrett Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons." Purpose of the journal outlined in the editorial.
Vol. I, No. 2 Winter 1990-91	"The Uses and Misuses of History" featuring essays by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. and Otis L. Graham, Jr.
Vol. I, No. 3 Spring 1991	Theme: "A World Without Borders?" with comments on a working paper produced by a group of Quakers, as well as discussion of migration to Europe.
Vol. I, No. 4 Summer 1991	"Politically Correct on Immigration" with an essay by Katharine Betts of Australia showing how the media and intelligentsia skew the debate about numbers.
Vol. II, No. 1 Fall 1991	"Immigration and Free Trade With Mexico," an extensive discussion of the case for moving more slowly in any such negotiation.

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Roy Beck, Washington Editor of The Social Contract, *sets the stage for the feature section of this issue with a report on the two conferences held last October in the nation's capital.*

CHALLENGING IMMIGRATION FATALISM

Conferences: Europeans See Control Possible; U.S. Battles Taboos

By Roy Beck

WASHINGTON —

By now few Americans could retain any isolated sense that this nation is unique in having millions of Third World citizens banging at the door to come in.

For months, U.S. newspapers, national news weeklies and TV have reported the rise of immigration as a bombshell political issue throughout Europe. The chief focus has been on the colorful and violent reactions of the far right. To the extent the mainstream citizens and politicians have expressed concern over immigration, they have been described by the US media as yielding to the ugliness and xenophobia of extremists. Above all, the reports have suggested that Europe is battling a phenomenon that cannot be stopped — that industrial nations can do little to withstand the push of migration from perpetually undeveloped, overcrowded nations.

"With its ageing population and stagnant birthrate, Europe needs the low-wage workforce from the Third World," *Newsweek* scolded in its December 9 issue. "Whatever barriers the EC throws up, refugees will keep climbing over them — as long as such marked disparities continue between the north and south, rich and poor." This is the same conventional wisdom that suggests the United States has no choice but to set legal immigration limits far above historic averages and can do little to prevent illegal entries — and even if it were possible, it would be immoral to try.

For their having dared to challenge the conventional wisdom, two separately sponsored conferences in late October of 1991 in Washington were remarkable. One on October 24 featured European immigration officials and experts. The other was the next day and exposed, dissected and flagrantly violated myths and taboos about immigration held by Americans, Canadians, and Australians — the only remaining nations with "frontier mentalities," as one conferee put it. Some 100 participants at each seminar challenged and defied the prevailing fatalism about mass migration.

The international experts at the earlier seminar, sponsored by the Washington-based Center for Immigration Studies (CIS), did their share of hand-wringing over the awesome size of the problem. But they also began to lay out a strategy for overcoming it.

"Europe is bubbling over with conferences on immigration," CIS director David Simcox said at the end of the event. "But most conferences are on accommodation measures as if immigration numbers are like the weather and there's nothing that can be done about it. This seminar was rare in that it questioned how we could change the numbers. There is a definite core of people here with a commitment to go ahead in some kind of international cooperation."

Dr. Johan Leman of Belgium's Royal Commission for Immigration indicated that cooperation among developed nations would be a significant step toward success. At present, each nation goes its own way, and is hampered by the lack of joint study and coordination of restriction efforts, he said. Few parties, politicians or nations want to stand alone in taking tough measures on immigration for fear of moral condemnation, speakers said. "Politicians have always had a bad conscience to say there is a need to restrict immigration," said Ambassador Harald Middtun of the Norwegian Foreign Ministry.

"Once refugees are in a nation," said Dr. Kay Hailbronner of the University of Konstanz in Germany, "they typically remain for years before a decision is made. Negative decisions are rarely enforced. When refugees are expelled, they often move to another West European nation and start over. Few mayors running for office want to be photographed with handcuffed refugees boarding planes."

But if industrialized nations would cooperate in adopting tough policies, they might find themselves somewhat inoculated against the name-calling they fear.

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Conference participants referred often to a paper by immigration expert David North that was presented to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development early last year. North suggested that deveoped nations are ill-equipped to withstand migrating masses because of their democratic traditions and rule of law. But his paper included an important qualifier: "It is not that immigration control is impossible. I suggest that democracies do not control well because they are reluctant to ... be tough-minded enough to inflict pain on (otherwise law-abiding) disadvantaged persons in order to manage international migration effectively."

"The U.S. made exceptions for Cubans, allowing virtually all of them to settle. This makes it difficult to rationalize dissimilar treatment for migrants from other Caribbean islands."

Tough, effective action not only can be done within a democracy, it can receive the support of the public, said Peter Tompkins, former chief of the British Immigration Service. Polls were cited showing overwhelming majorities of the public in most industrial nations want tight immigration controls. Tompkins talked of his government's levying of large fines against airlines that transport passenger without proper visas. "This has reduced the flow of inadmissable passengers," he said. "The airlines say this is very unfair. It is. But, if this is the only way to achieve some measure of success, governments not only will keep but increase the penalties."

Industrial nations need the same toughness in creating a joint policy for failed asylum seekers, several said. "We say we aren't an immigration country, but figures say otherwise," said Alexander Sorel, legal counsel for the Netherlands Aliens Department. "Quite often, one department of government says you can't stay and another gives a social security card."

Gottfried Zurcher, vice director of Switzerland's Federal Office for Refugees said laws and pronouncements tell potential immigrants not to come, but governmental actions tell them just the opposite when most rejected asylum seekers are not forced to go home. "We are launching wrong signals to immigrants," he said. "How can I tell Yugoslavian and Romanian citizens to stay home because their chance for asylum is low, when they know very well they have a high chance of being able to stay — higher than getting a job in their own country!" Zurcher complained.

Middtun reflected what others said about their countries when he described Norway as finding only about 4 percent of asylum seekers eligible. But the government eventually allows another 50 percent to remain legally even though they aren't eligible. And most of the rest refuse to leave and are not deported, he said.

Among conference participants, ideas for developed nations to reduce the length of residency of ineligible asylum seekers were:

- Hold asylum processes to a few weeks. Prevent applicants' putting down roots and disappearing. This will deter further attempts, and attempts by others.
- Share information with cooperating nations to stop the practice of deportations that merely shift aliens from one developed country to another.
- Change the procedure that gives all asylees individual and court reviews. Those coming from "safe" nations that don't have a current record of political persecution should be automatically rejected.
- Make no exception in policy. The United States made exceptions for Cubans allowing virtually all of them to settle, making it difficult to justify different treatment for other Caribbean migrants. (The European resettlement of Indo-Chinese in the '70s made "every other Third World citizen wonder why Vietnamese can go but he cannot.")

* * *

Standards of morality accepted by various power elites of the industrial nations will make public discussion of the above ideas difficult. Their taboos may stifle it.

That was an important premise of the October 25th conference on "Myths and Taboos: Immigration Policy in the Era of the Politically Correct" sponsored by the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR). In Europe, the taboos have been broken to the extent that Tompkins could report

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a day earlier that "I suspect the major United Kingdom parties will stand against major immigration just as the parties in France are." And Professor Antonio Golini of Italy's Institute for Population Research noted that "during the last two years, the political climate totally changed" in his country "so all parties now favor some restrictions." Professor H.J. Hoffman-Nowotny, director of the Sociological Institute, University of Zurich, said: "There are good grounds to assume European countries will do everything to resist the trend of increased migration from the exploding Third World."

But at the taboos conference, it was clear that the "frontier" developed nations are not there yet. The leadership of both U.S. parties has remained mute or supported immigration-fueled population growth. In Canada: "All political parties are pro-growth," said John Meyer, director of Zero Population Growth there. "I believe every single major newspaper endorsed higher immigration."

"...the intellectual class [in Australia] has bought the myth that those who support large numbers are generous and those who don't are selfish bigots."

In Australia both the Labor and Conservative parties are pro-immigration, said Jenny MacLeod of Australians for an Ecologically Sustainable Population. Just weeks earlier at a conference of academics and the intelligentsia she was hissed for stating concerns about the effect on the environment of immigration-fueled population growth.

That kind of taboo in the United States has been enforced informally in the news media and often formally on campus, said Otis L. Graham, Jr., professor of history at the University of California in Santa Barbara. Myths that have driven US immigration policy could not be publicly exploded because of the taboos against discussing them, he said.

Garrett Hardin, professor emeritus of ecology at the University of California in Santa Barbara and noted author on population issues, said such stifling of discussion was painfully apparent during the passage of the 1990 Immigration Act. He said the news media failed to fulfill their traditional role of sounding the alarm when Congress and President Bush went against the will of a large majority of Americans. The public wanted less immigration. But the media allowed the Federal Government to slip through an "anti-democratic" bill greatly increasing immigration with little publicity, Hardin said.

Journalists in Australia are part of a new intellectual class that wears pro-immigration views as a status symbol to distinguish itself from the average working person, said Katharine Betts, who has suggested and developed this theory in her book, *Ideology and Immigration.* A senior lecturer at the Swinburne Institute of Technology at Melbourne, Betts said the intellectual class has bought the myth that those who support large numbers are generous and those who don't are selfish bigots.

She told a chilling story of how that class destroyed the career of celebrated historian, Professor Jeffrey Blainey, when he spoke out on the dangers of continued high immigration. Campuses erupted in violent demonstrations when he spoke there. Twenty-four of his colleagues on the faculty of the University of Melbourne wrote a public letter disassociating themselves from him. A team of historians wrote a book attacking his immigration position and his professional reputation. He lost the deanship of the faculty of arts. The media relentlessly attacked him. He finally took early retirement.

But the Australian public has rallied around him, Betts said: "For seven years his public reputation has grown."

One myth many participants of the two conferences would like to see exploded quickly is the one *Newsweek* mouthed about there being little the developed world can do to resist migration pressure from the Third World without rapid economic development there. Professor Golini of Italy acknowledged that he sympathized with that conventional wisdom and that it made him very pessimistic because he doubts any effort can raise Third World conditions significantly for several more decades.

Vice-director Zurcher of Switzerland said forty years of development had not decreased immigration pressure but increased it. Professor Hoffman was even more dismal. If the Third World developed enough to eliminate most of the migration push factor, the world environment would be devastated by the additional resource consumption and pollution, he said.

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While offering assistance to Third World nations to improve the lot of their citizens, said Britain's Tompkins, the developed nations have no choice but to act now, decisively, to protect their borders and the civilization of their own citizens.

Both October conferences provided a long but not exhaustive list of areas where speakers felt those favoring lower levels of immigration have the moral high ground:

- Although proponents tout immigration as a humane form of foreign aid to poor countries, it probably is the least effective way for the money to be spent, Betts said. It's much better to aid people in their home region.
- Immigration drains skills and energy needed to lift the Third World nations out of their misery. "It is short-sighted to encourage immigration of skilled and professional people from East Europe to the West," Hailbronner said. "They are needed for improvement in the East." British author and scholar Jack Parsons asked: "Why should Pakistan train a doctor to come to America?"
- The kindest thing an industrial nation can do for a recent immigrant is to stop additional immigration, said Viktor Foerster, a German attorney. He highlighted a new law that states: "It is agreed the Federal Republic of Germany is not nor shall it ever become a country of immigration ... It is only by applying a consistent and efficient policy of restriction that the indispensable commitment of the German population to the integration of aliens can be ensured. This is a prerequisite for safeguarding social peace."
- All Americans are better served by open discussions of the issues rather than being intimidated by accusations of racism from the immigration expansionists. Ed Levy, professor at Yeshiva University in New York, said the motives of many hurlers of the racial epithets are themselves patently racist ... "Professional ethnics have increased attention to race to gain more power for themselves." Former Senator Eugene McCarthy said the result of taboos has been that the United States has lost control of its borders and is losing control of its culture: "We've become a colony to the world." Peter Skerry of the Brookings Institution said there is something "perverse about a country or a society many of whose citizens seem to think it racist when some Americans simply want to restrict or control such a large and historically important influx of immigrants."

"What about the receiving nations' self-interest? Is there not a moral right to that?"

- Every American resident (citizen and recent immigrant) loses if the society disintegrates under excessive diversity. Syndicated columnist Georgie Anne Geyer fears she sees something in this country similar to what she has been observing for two decades in nations such as Lebanon, Kuwait, India, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union: "I felt I was walking through massive delusion ... the breakdown into ethnic groups... The value systems that held multi-ethnic, multi-religious systems together aren't holding anymore. We're becoming a country not of individual citizens but groups." Jack Parsons wondered if a democracy can continue indefinitely when the will of the majority is so resoundingly ignored: "What about the receiving nations' self-interest? Is there not a moral right to that? How much homogeneity must you have to hold society together? How much heterogeneity can you stand before it flies apart?"
- Immigration to developed nations greatly increases world resource consumption and pollution and can reduce the receiving country's ability to help Third World nations. It erodes possibilities for maintaining even the present quality of life for future generations. "How meritorious is it for one generation to be generous with another generation's resources?" Hardin asked. Meyer pointed out that most immigrants to Canada settle in cities and expand the urban sprawl over agricultural land that currently produces excess food to feed other nations. While everyone seems to want to save Brazilian rain forests, immigrants' resource requirements in Canada are helping to speed the destruction of Canada's rain forests. "At current

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rates, our rain forests will disappear before the tropical ones," Meyer said.

- Advocates of high immigration focus on the needs of poor people in other countries at the expense of poor in their own. "They focus on immigrants but ignore our own native peoples," said Meyer of Canada.

Such arguments have had little opportunity to emerge under the blanket of taboos stifling candid talk, Graham said. But the wide discussion the past year of "political correctness" is creating a grand opening. The discovering of political correctness and the disarming of it has the potential to turn the tide," Graham said. "A corner has been turned; the silencers have been exposed."

The conferences ended on the optimistic note that with free discussion and cooperation the developed nations can meet the challenges posed by the combination of push and pull factors now fueling high levels of international migration. ■

[The proceedings of the FAIR conference, "Myths and Taboos: Immigration Policy in the Era of the Politically Correct" will be published early in 1992. For information contact: The Federation for American Immigration Reform, 1666 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 400, Washington, DC 20009.]

ZIGGY
IT DOESN'T BOTHER ME THAT AMERICANS CAN'T FIND THE U.S. ON A MAP... WHAT WORRIES ME IS ALL THE NON-AMERICANS WHO CAN.
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Katharine Betts is a native Australian who visited the US in October, 1991 to present papers on the Australian immigration situation at the University of California - Santa Barbara, the University of Texas - Austin, and at the Federation for Immigration Reform (FAIR) seminar, "Myths and Taboos: Immigration Policy in the Era of the Politically Correct." Here are her reflections on this trip.

IMMIGRATION AND TWO NEW WORLDS

An Australian's Reflections On a Visit to the U.S.

By Katharine Betts

MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA —

As an Australian, I dislike the label "Anglo-Australia" because it implies a half-hearted, tentative identification with my country. Yet, in the sense of ethnic origins, it is a correct description. Most of my ancestors were English, and English is the only language I know well. Along with other classics, my father read *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn* aloud to me when I was a child and, to this day, books written in North America and Britain influence my thoughts and my work.

Many Australians who share this background feel that they know Britain and the United States. Of course we are wrong. My first visit to England as an adult was in 1971. I had looked forward to it eagerly but was surprised to find England a foreign country. The natives said kindly, "Well, you do have an Australian accent; but don't worry, it's not too bad." They were charming and friendly but this was not the cozy second home that children's fiction had created in my imagination.

I confess that I had less desire to see the United States. Of course American politics are important to Australians; we watch them carefully, often frustrated that we cannot vote there when the outcome affects us crucially. America is also the source of much of the theory and research that has shaped the social sciences in Australia. Just as British children's books coloured my childhood, American scholarship has influenced my professional life. But both the Australian media and scholarly literature paint a fairly grim picture of the United States. They show a people pushed to the limit by the pressure to compete, and a country stressed by extremes of wealth and poverty — violent and tense. The daily press assures us that whatever Australia's problems with crime, urban stresses, pollution, or industrial accidents may be, in America these are worse.

I spent five days in the U.S. in April last year with my husband, Gavin, for a conference about immigration in Austin, [Texas], and twelve days in October sponsored by the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) — this time with my son, Christopher. On both occasions we were sheltered by kind hosts and good hotels, so I cannot say that the stereotypes have been given a fair test. But, if they are universally true, Americans are good at hiding the fact from foreign guests. In the four cities we visited in October (Santa Barbara, Washington, Austin, and San Diego) the people were warm and welcoming, the streets were clean, and strangers were not only polite but actively helpful. (I found it disorienting to be called "ma'am" in shops and hotels. In Australia, if Christopher rings for a taxi he may be addressed as "mate", or perhaps "sir"; an unknown woman here is usually addressed as "love." In America, "Have a nice day, ma'am," may be only a formula but it has a reassuring and friendly ring to it.)

Yes, there were homeless people and beggars, but I had seen more in Paris. And if they did make an approach, they were apologetic and unthreatening. We have homeless people too, but they tend to be more hidden and, though violent crime is comparatively rare, one often sees people who *look* dangerous.

What about the "pressure"? Obviously the scholars and activists associated with FAIR are working very hard, not for their personal aggrandizement but for a cause that they are committed to. But they did enforce the image of a nation hard at work. Sometimes one sees car stickers in Australia that read "I'd rather be sailing" and business leaders tell us that we have too many holidays. Most people I know here in Australia do work hard; the stereotype of ours as "the land of the

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long weekend" is not true for them. But, when I got back, one of my first tasks was to go to the supermarket and re-stock the house. Alas, it was "Melbourne Cup Day" and everything was closed except the betting shop. What other country has a public holiday for a horse race? Still, if it does indicate a little less pressure in Australia, I hope we can keep it.

These contrasts are only drawn from a tourist's impressions. What of immigration and immigration reform? North America was the original "new world" magnet for immigrants; we were a later, smaller sibling. Is there a family resemblance? It was encouraging to see that FAIR was such a well-established institution — well-staffed and well-resourced. The pro-immigration lobbies in Australia have much more money and personnel at their disposal than their scattered critics. I expect the pro-immigration camp in the US can outspend FAIR too, but at least you have a solid institutional structure to form a base for the reform movement.

"...American reformers seem to feel free to talk critically about the cultural impact of immigration. ...Because most Australian reformers feel that the numbers question is crucial, we restrict ourselves to demography as carefully as possible."

I was surprised to find that so many of the FAIR people I spoke to had a background in the family-planning movement. The connection is logical, but it doesn't happen in Australia. Most of the family-planning activists of the 1960s and 1970s came out of the women's movement. They saw the question very much in terms of women's rights (instead of women's rights *and* demography). When the battles for liberal access to contraception and abortion were won, feminists turned their attention to other women's causes — some even asserting that, just as it was a woman's right to limit her fertility, so it was her right to have as many children as she pleased.

Perhaps FAIR's roots in the broader population movement provide credentials that help its members deflect some of the more hysterical criticism that we encounter in Australia. (My husband is at this moment translating a piece from an Australian Italian-language paper. It talks of immigration reformers as "little groups of chauvinists, isolationists, xenophobes and mad greenies who have come up like mushrooms from one end of Australia to the other", and claims that they are thrusting the country "towards the putrid swamp of inertia, of mass egotism, of social and cultural closure".) Whatever the reason, American reformers seem to feel free to talk critically about the cultural impact of immigration. I was mildly surprised to hear questions about the impact of ethnic diversity on the schools and other cultural institutions being so openly discussed. "Political correctness" or, as we would have put it, the need to be "ideologically sound", is even stronger on the question of multiculturalism in Australia than it is on the immigration program itself. Because most Australian reformers feel that the numbers question is crucial, we restrict ourselves to demography as carefully as possible and avoid looking for extra trouble by being critical of multiculturalism as well.

Tactics? Cowardice? I'm not sure. My judgment is that cultural differences in Australia are a serious problem in only one respect: organized ethnic pressure groups lobbying for further immigration use them to legitimate their case. If we could achieve nil net immigration, any residual tensions stemming from cultural differences would probably wash out quite quickly. (The sort of cultural problems I am thinking of here involve the limited role of girls and women in some ethnic groups, conflicts between ethnic groups derived from the politics of their countries of origin, and racism directed at visible immigrants minorities — either by "old Australians" or other ethnic groups. Racism of this kind does not appear to be widespread at the moment, but there is some evidence that it is growing.) In the United States, it may well be that the problems created by cultural diversity are much more serious, especially when the impact of illegal immigration is taken into account. Illegal immigration may also explain the tendency of American scholars to equate immigration with poverty more readily than Australian commentators would.

If these are some of the differences between immigration politics in the United States and Australia, a number of similarities are uncanny. The US adopted a program oriented toward family

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reunion in 1965 — at least partly in response to pressure from community leaders of Southern European origin. But, as I understand it, few Southern Europeans made use of the opportunities it provided, and the places were taken up by other groups which, through the process of chain migration, expanded rapidly. Fifteen years later, history repeated itself almost to the letter in Australia. Local Greek and Italian leaders protested that the existing programme, with its emphasis on skills and competence in English, discriminated against their relatives. Politicians responded with an increasingly open-ended family reunion scheme. This was almost ignored by Southern Europeans, but the handful of Asians established in the country, as well as a sprinkling of immigrants from other Third World countries, used the new provisions enthusiastically. And, in both countries, with the growing emphasis on family reunion, organized labour shifted from opposition to immigration to qualified support, tacitly adopting the curious position that only independent immigrants provided job competition for the local population.

"...ethnic community leaders in Australia were not speaking for the average migrant. (Survey data show that... established migrants are not particularly keen on multiculturalism either.)"

The family reunion episode demonstrated that, on this question at least, ethnic community leaders in Australia were not speaking for the average migrant. (Survey data show that, despite their leaders' protestations, established migrants are not particularly keen on multiculturalism either.) In Washington, we also heard people talking about the unrepresentativeness of current minority leaders on the immigration question. Hispanic leaders, arguing against employer sanctions, were not speaking for most Hispanic-Americans; and the Black caucus in Congress, with its alliance with Hispanic leaders, was not speaking for black Americans either.

In both "new worlds," then, the general run of politicians is out of step with community feeling on immigration, and leaders of minority groups appear to be at odds with their constituencies too. But, because Australia has no functional equivalent of America's black minority, the parallels soon founder. People asked me how Australian Aborigines felt about Australian immigration. Australian Aborigines certainly resent being considered as just another ethnic group helping to make up the diverse mixture of a multicultural nation. They claim, quite rightly, that theirs is a special case. I had no ready answer to the question of how they felt about immigration except to say that I had heard different Aboriginal people express a range of viewpoints. I forgot to inquire in the US about the attitudes of Native Americans to American immigration. Are they asked? Is it an issue?

I had arrived in Washington certain of one fact: with the possible exception of Israel, in per capita terms, Australia has the highest migrant intake in the developed world. Not so, I was told. If illegal immigration is included, this first position must go to the United States — or, no, if several other factors are taken into account, the honour belongs to Canada. We were competing for a prize no one wanted to win, but the argument demonstrated a need: for good (or better) statistics. Would that the Population Reference Bureau's annual data sheet had a column for net migration! Of course, the information is not lying around to be picked up easily, but we need it — and governments need it. While many factors will confound long-range population projections, any conclusions about the future size and age-structure of developed nations based only on extrapolations of domestic fertility and mortality are certain to be wrong.

During the Washington conference, in recapitulating the argument of my book[1] I talked about the way in which the Australian "new class" has enthused over immigration and multiculturalism, how they had claimed that, in its pre-immigration condition, Australia had been boring, mindless, and lobotomized. John Meyer from Canada suggested that we could transfer our competition from "which country had the highest per capita intake" to "which was most often described as boring." I suspect that the international statistics on this are no better. But I wonder if the debate in the United States is framed in these terms? The image of America as a "country of immigrants" seems too well-established for anyone to rest an argument for immigration on statements about a "pre-immigrant" condition.

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Of course Australia is a country of immigrants too but, before the Second World War, most of them came from the United Kingdom. Consequently we did not have an image of ourselves as a microcosm of the world, a prototype of a universal nation. Public figures now like to tell us that we are a country of immigrants or that we are the most multicultural nation in the world. (Is there another competition here?) But, rather than striking a patriotic note, this usually makes the audience cross. One politician, bruised by the experience, told me he thought that people confused the word "multicultural" with "multinational" (as in "multinational companies"). Perhaps if he said it differently the response would be better? But, even though his staff was told to exorcise the word — and talk of "cultural diversity" or "ethnic pluralism" — the concept itself continued to grate.

Because Australians feel that multiculturalism is something that is recent and that it has been artificially imposed on them, immigration reform may be easier to accomplish here than in a country like the US where most people feel that diversity is part of their national heritage, and therefore part of the way they think about themselves. The fact that we still actively recruit and talk of immigration "targets" rather than "ceilings" could also mean that smaller numbers would be easier to achieve in Australia. I think that immigration is now seen to be a more pressing political issue here than it was even two years ago, and than it is now in the United States. In any case, winding back recruitment programmes and reducing targets is less taxing than deporting illegals and policing a land border.

FAIR arranged for us to see the border. We drove through the suburbs of San Diego down to where they meet Tijuana, where some 4,000 illegals cross each night. It was still day time but groups were already assembling on the Mexican side, ready to make their run. The metal fence was made of recycled bits of air force landing strips and Christopher thought he could climb it easily. As we watched, many young men, tired of waiting for dusk, did just that. I could only agree that, at least for the young and fit, fence-climbing was easy. In one place they'd dug a hole and were clambering under it. As the border patrol vehicle we were in approached, they retreated a few feet, grinned, and a few waved. They looked like naughty adolescents taunting the school teachers who'd lost control of the playground. Then we saw the young couple with the baby and it didn't look like a game at all.

The dedication of the patrol officers and their professionalism seemed beyond doubt, as was their lack of resources and political support. Was this really the southern border of the nation that conducted Operation Desert Storm? I had heard one scholar, not a FAIR member this time, say that the idea that the border could be controlled was only "a macho fantasy." It did not look as if the "fantasy" were being put to the test.

Just as I thought I recognized America's features, the family resemblance shifted. The border is different; we have nothing like it in Australia and illegal migration is still only a side issue. The history of diversity is different. The political salience of the immigration question is different. But so much else seems to be the same. I hope that we can learn more from each other. ■

[1] *Dr. Betts' book* Ideology and Immigration: Australia 1976 to 1987, *published in 1988 by Melbourne University Press, is available at the office of the Federation for American Immigration Reform, 1666 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20009. Cost: $25.*

Dr. Betts' Austin Talk Available

Audio cassette tapes of Dr. Katharine Betts' talk at the University of Texas - Austin are available from the office of *The Social Contract*, 316½ E. Mitchell St., Petoskey, MI 40770. The cost for the two cassettes is $10.00, postpaid. Included are comments from University of Texas professors Sidney Weintraub and Frank Bean, and from Dallas news columnist Richard Estrada.

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John Meyer is president of Zero Population Growth of Canada, Inc. and lives in Toronto, that country's principal city of immigration. He was a panelist at the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) seminar, "Responses of Western Industrial Nations to High Immigration Demand."

THE THREE 'FRONTIER' NATIONS

A Canadian's View

By John Meyer

TORONTO, CANADA —

In Canada there is no integrated planning or environmental accounting. At the two Washington conferences in October, I had expected to find that other countries, which are currently out-performing us economically, would have elements of these critical considerations embedded in their policy-making. That was not the case.

Instead of finding that other countries have more comprehensive and advanced policy-making capability, it became obvious that they were making the same mistakes as Canada but in a smaller way. The three frontier nations (Australia, Canada and the U.S.A.) are still pursuing frontier population policies because the policy-making apparatus still has a frontier mentality. The Europeans are not actively pursuing immigration to boost their populations but they do seem not to have explicit population and environ-mental policies.

"The media represent both a force and a mindset which are opposed to a national debate on the effects of large-scale immigration."

The "Myths and Taboos" theme of the FAIR conference was appropriate since it highlighted a universal problem: the enforcement of dogma by a power elite. Today, the throne of power is no longer located in the pulpit or boardroom or private club but in the offices of the editor. It is very important for those promoting a change in national policy to clearly identify the forces and attitudes which are maintaining the status quo. The media, employers of cheap labor, land speculators, altruists, and some church bureaucracies are the "pull" behind current immigration policies. They are enforcing the taboo on any debate of the issues which will lead to change. The vision of the endless frontier is the myth that the debate will destroy.

If we can show any of the players to be violating their social contract, or to be in a position of conflict of interest, that may be enough to remove their opposition to the discussion of the real issues.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MEDIA

The media represent both a force and a mindset which are opposed to a national debate on the effects of large scale immigration.

The "force" is their control of and influence on any debate. Without media coverage and participation we may as well move our soapbox to the nearest closet.

The "mindset" is the expertise levels of those who report and edit the news. These people have not spent the last twenty years pondering the effect of population change and migration on national and global well-being. Most of them are not aware of even the most basic linkages between demographic change, the environment, and the economy. Population and environment courses are common in high schools now, but it will be years before the graduates make their presence felt in the media.

Unlike manufacturing industries whose market is limited only by the quality, performance and cost-effectiveness of its products, most media enterprises are geographically limited. For instance, the *Toronto Star* cannot hope to expand significantly its market share in Montreal or New York. Its main vehicle for increased revenue is growth in the local market and growth in the number and expenditures of its advertisers. The *Toronto Star* took in $200 million in the decade of the '80s from new home advertising for houses built predominantly on prime agricultural land.

The "corporate" end of the *Star* certainly knows on which side its bread is buttered. The editorial side is probably likewise aware of this but it also sees

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itself as the society's information system. "Good media," said one observer, "are like a nation talking to itself." We must make clear to the media that they have been falling down in their responsibility to air the best information, and that they have been guilty of neglect and intimidation in smothering the national debate on immigration.

The conferences brought out the similarities in the frustration of national debate in most of the western countries. It seems that the immigration debate will not be media-led but media-impeded.

"Poverty, environmental decline, and political and ethnic instability are the driving factors in emigration."

THE "PUSH" FACTORS OF MIGRATION

Whatever the approaches of Western governments to immigration, it is obvious that the "push" is the major problem. Poverty, environmental decline, and political and ethnic instability are the driving factors in emigration. In order to understand the full context of migration it is necessary to understand both the push and the pull factors. The conferences gave a good overview of both.

It was very interesting to hear during the presentations that the first concern of many younger Eastern Europeans is not how to fix and improve their economies and societies but how to get themselves to Germany, the US, or Canada. I am sure that these individuals have the same feeling for their countries that we all do — so one is left with the conclusion that the problems in the home countries are regarded as hopeless, that nothing they as individuals can do will produce a meaningful improvement.

We are beginning to see the same despairing mentality in Canada. We have a declining social and economic situation and the governments are perceived by many as both responsible for, and incapable of, solving the problems. People throw up their hands in disgust and talk about moving to the US, New Zealand, or Australia.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

The most startling thing the conferences brought out, from my personal point of view, was the incredible set of similarities between the situations of Australia and Canada. Similarities is too weak a word. The statistics of the two countries make them almost identical twins except that one is frozen and the other is dusty. Compared to other OECD countries, Australia and Canada are tied for first in a race for the:

- highest per capita net external debt;
- highest rates of population growth;
- highest rates of labor force growth;
- highest rates of agricultural land losses;
- stagnation of real per capita incomes;
- lowest rates of productivity improvement.

The differences between the US and Canada are larger but the complete lack of planning in either country is leading to the same kinds of assumptions. In short, both countries, once viewed as bread baskets and limitless wells of raw materials, will run out of critical resources in the near future. Of course, each country is planning to turn to the other as a source of solutions for its problems.

Meeting people from Europe brought up, once again, the misconceptions about Canada under which many still labor: wide open spaces suitable for settlement, virgin forests waiting to be cleared for the plow — are visions that still linger in the European mind. (They still linger in many Canadian minds as well, which is much of the problem of "myth and taboo" that hinders the making of new policy.)

Immigration policy in all of the OECD countries is a stand-alone policy, whose consequences are dealt with in separate policy "budgets" rather than being dealt with at the source.

FUTURE COOPERATIVE ACTION

The delegates from the various countries represented groups which, collectively, have the understanding to begin to implement integrated national policies that would tie population, the environment, and the economy together. If Canada is any indicator, there probably exists somewhere in each federal bureaucracy the embryo of a sophisticated and comprehensive input-output model that mathematically represents such an integration.

Such models are exactly what is needed for nations to adopt integrated policies. They are also

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exactly what advocates of those policies require to support their calls for change. These models should be sought out, supported, and cited as often as possible to bring home to our opponents — the believers in limitless growth — the fact that they are poorly informed and out of date.

With the homeless visible on virtually every block of the capital of the most powerful nation on earth, it is obviously time to update the vision of what constitutes a prosperous nation. Forty years ago more prosperity meant more of what we already had. We were industrial adolescents. Today we are industrial middle-agers who must look at prosperity in terms of individual well-being rather than in terms of simply "bigger is better." Otherwise, the promise of what our countries once offered will slip beyond the reach of many in the current generation and the vast majority of those in generations to come.

It was a pleasure to spend two days with such an aware, focused, and diverse group. The last time I found conversation so stimulating was in a short half-hour talk with Dr. Norman Borlaug who looked upon his accomplishments in the "green revolution" as merely buying time to solve the population problem. Dr. Borlaug knew what fundamentals had to be addressed to solve the problems that all nations are facing.

It was refreshing for me to find that same awareness among so many of the delegates at these conferences. ■

[*Zero Population Growth of Canada, Inc. produces an excellent set of fliers showing the interrelationship of population, resources, the environment, and immigration. For a set, send $5 in US funds to P.O. Box 113, Ajax, Ontario, Canada, L1S 3C5.*]

It is imperative not only that nations learn to live in peace with justice for all but that we also learn how to relate ourselves to our natural surroundings in such a way as to stay alive and prosper. We cannot afford to continue to make war, to tolerate oppression, to allow the gap between rich and poor to persist. But neither can we indiscriminately and indefinitely plunder the planet for its resources, overpopulate it with people, and pollute our air and water without paying the terrible consequences in human misery. If we are to have a future at all, we must at least learn the elementary requirements of biological survival.

— Kenneth Cauthen, *Christian Biopolitics*, (Abingdon Press, 1971), p. 106

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Jack Parsons was invited to attend the recent conferences on immigration in our nation's capital. Professor Parsons is retired from his post as Senior Lecturer in sociology at Cardiff University, Wales. His books include Population versus Liberty, *and* Population Fallacies. *He is at work on a new book on human competitive breeding.*

A BRITISH VISITOR WHO SEES MORE OPEN DISCUSSION IN THE U.S.

By Jack Parsons

SOUTH WALES, UNITED KINGDOM

As a foreign visitor, I feel honored by the invitation of *The Social Contract* to give my impressions of some of the issues raised at the two immigration conferences in Washington. I found nearly all the presentations of considerable interest, and it was a great tonic to me as a solitary operative in Britain to share ideas with so many like-minded people. The opening papers by Professor Hoffman-Nowotny and Doctor Heilbronner were packed with facts and close reasoning. The same applied to Garrett Hardin's and Otis Graham's on the second day, and to Katherine Betts' contributions on both days. I particularly enjoyed Senator McCarthy's disquisition on America as a colony of the whole world and Ed Levy's splendid diatribe against pseudoliberalism.

My starting point has to be an attempt to delineate two seemingly great paradoxes, the first of which concerns the apparent position of members of racial and ethnic minorities.

In his recent, very interesting book, *Peaceful Invasions*, Leon Bouvier pins his hopes on the high ideal that a USA "... comprised of significant proportions ... descending from European, Asian, Latin American, and African sources [could] become the world's first truly universalistic nation ..." He stresses again: "... there is nothing improper about increasing ethnic and racial diversity. The nation can benefit from [it] as the world becomes smaller."

Nevertheless, he caps this with the all-important proviso: "... failing to realize that the massive levels of immigration that cause such diversity seriously tax the society [is] like the proverbial ostrich with its head in the sand."[1] The first part of this argument puzzles me, as it seems to contradict the passage he quotes, apparently with approval, from T.S. Eliot's *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture*. "A people should be neither too united nor too divided if its culture is to flourish." Of course, Bouvier is aware of the problems caused by excessive numbers and diversity, but his solution is somehow to contain them through "pluralistic assimilation," which: "... serves to provide *some* heterogeneity within ever-increasing society homogeneity."[2]

"A people should be neither too united nor too divided if its culture is to flourish."
— T. S. Eliot

The emphasis on "some" above was added, as it seems painfully clear to an outsider that your problem lies not in affording sufficient scope for heterogeneity, but the exact opposite: somehow salvaging or recreating sufficient homogeneity and coherence to enable your society — already very complex on grounds of both population and geographical sizes alone — to continue to exist as a socially and politically manageable entity. In striking contrast to the glib, superficial, self-satisfied utopianism so often manifested by self-styled liberals, this book is the work of a truly liberal mind; the author is genuinely concerned for the good of all. Still, my feeling is that Schlesinger[3] and Auster[4] are more realistic than Bouvier in their recent analysis and policy recommendations. The American ideal is indeed a high one — unprecedented in history — to become "an amalgam of the people of the world" as Thomas Paine put it in *Common Sense* in 1772. Despite this, it seems unlikely that Paine would have insisted on the representation of *all* peoples, without exception, and that the scale of representation must be limitless.

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The second paradox relates to the furor about "P.C.," political correctness, and its allegedly quasi-totalitarian censoring influence, (mainly in the universities?) hampering open and unemotional discussion on immigration and racial and ethnic matters in general. Although I did not have the opportunity to visit any of the campuses said to be in the grip of P.C. orthodoxy, I am half-persuaded that an initially praiseworthy movement to counteract prejudice, unthinking ethnocentricity, and stereotyping in particular, has gone much too far, and is leading to Orwellian "thought police"-like activities.

Alongside this, from a British perspective, I find an amazing openness, both in academe and in the media, to claims and counterclaims on the costs and benefits of immigration and its control. On my first day in Washington, I had the privilege of sitting in on one of FAIR Executive Director Dan Stein's many radio interviews — 6 to 8 each week — on the non-benefits of excessive immigration and the need for much tighter controls in the USA. I was spellbound not only by the well-practiced fluency with which he marshalled his arguments, but also by the obvious freedom of the air for the transmission of tough, if very reasoned, views on migration control. Neither interviewer nor callers (it was a phone-in program) accused him of racism, and he in turn treated all comments and objections with respect, while criticizing them with rigor when it seemed appropriate.

"Sadly, [in Britain], there is little or no chance of frank debate over the air such as you have."

In Britain, this would be almost unthinkable. In the first place, we don't have any respectable pressure groups like FAIR or the CIS, and in the second place, the media will not permit free and frank debate on these issues. Despite its many and obvious shortcomings, I am a great admirer of the BBC. Seen against the world competition, it seems to set high standards but, in this sphere, sadly, there is little or no chance of frank debate over the air, such as you have. Occasional tentative attempts to discuss some of the issues are nervously overseen by a twitchy Auntie BBC who has in any case heavily stacked the cards in favor of expansionist immigration groups to begin with by inviting fiercely anti-British spokespersons and putting a "liberal" producer in charge so that proponents of immigration control are rapidly dismissed as little Englanders or outright racists.

In Britain, almost all public debate on the key issue in this context — the size and rate of immigration flows — is stifled by a ploy called the "Numbers Game." In just about every discussion, few though these are, between expansionist and restrictionist spokespersons, the former will refuse to discuss the size of immigrant flows in some variant of the phrase, "I'm not going to play the Numbers Game." For instance, the deservedly highly respected Bishop Trevor Huddleston — for many years one of the doughtiest campaigners against apartheid and author of the cited famous book[5] — said in a BBC TV series (commissioned and published jointly with the Commission For Racial Equality): "I ... view ... race relations in our country as transcending every other issue at this time ... Unless the false perspective created by the Numbers Game and the kind of arguments used in playing it can be changed, then ... the future is very bleak, indeed."[6]

"...the overwhelming will of the people as expressed in poll after poll, that immigration — especially the illegal variety — should be greatly reduced, has been ignored by your legislators."

There seem to be no limits to the expansionist's hospitality and generosity of spirit. Paddy Ashdown, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, has passionately demanded that, when the territory reverts to China in 1997, the whole population of Hong Kong — some five millions — should be invited to settle in Britain. This magnanimity applies even to other countries. Some British acquaintances — professional people with university degrees — are deeply convinced that everyone, from any part of the world and for whatever reason, has an absolute right to go and settle in the USA. Academics openly espouse this sort of argument, arguing, deadpan, that numbers have nothing whatever to do with host-immigrant relations. Five thousand, fifty thousand, fifty millions — it is all the same to them.[7]

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The assiduous propagation of this fatuous slogan "playing the Numbers Game" has effectively prevented nearly all open discussion in Britain of the key question, "How many?" In the USA, you are much more rational, or at least much luckier, in having no such barriers to exchanges of views on this important topic. However vigorously they may be attacked, opinions about numbers and other variables can at least be freely expressed and argued over. A further handicap to rational discussion of these matters in the U.K. is that many immigrants, vocally supported by native apologists, demand not only that they be accepted in increasing numbers and granted at least equal citizenship (some want positive discrimination, as in the USA), but that they must be made to feel positively *wanted.*

By far the most important aspect of all this, ethically, socially and politically speaking — not to mention its scientific aspects — lies in the extraordinary fact that, operationally speaking, the USA appears to have organized an immigration policy to satisfy the aspirations of very large numbers of aliens at the expense of the clearly expressed wishes of the native majority. Of course, there are powerful internal lobbies supporting this stance, employers wanting cheap labor, ethnic minority propagandists such as United Farm Worker president Cesar Chavez (who tried to have the I.N.S. abolished), the mindless extreme Left wing chorus, the immigration lawyers, and — last but not least — unregenerate economists who want more of everything. In the face of all this sound and fury, the overwhelming will of the people as expressed in poll after poll, that immigration — especially the illegal variety — should be greatly reduced, has been ignored by your legislators. As early as June, 1977, a Roper poll showed that 80 percent wanted legal immigration to be reduced, and their 1988 poll showed a massive 91 percent wanting "an all-out effort ... to stop illegal immigration."[8] A 1990 poll by the same organization showed that 87 percent believe that the USA has overall population problems, nearly two-thirds of these defining them as "major" problems.

The most basic requirement of your Constitution — as expressed by Lincoln's seminal phrase that calls for "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" — is flagrantly negated. The damage this does to the democratic fabric of your society seems likely to be high: not least in the rise to national prominence of unsavory characters such as former Nazi supporter and Ku Klux Klan leader, David Duke of Louisiana, now girding his political loins to run for the Presidency. If the deep and clearly expressed needs of the mass of the people are systematically thwarted, then the temptation to turn for salvation to extremists like Duke is reinforced. A further turn to this screw is applied by the fact that as extremists increasingly come to the fore then moderates increasingly tend to shrink back to avoid contamination by contact with them, leaving the field still wider open for the extremists. If the will of the people had been respected as and when it manifested itself, and appropriate policies put into effect, then it seems likely that opportunists of the Duke variety would have had to content themselves with fulminating on the sidelines. As it is, these people and the extremists from the other side — the Left liberals — tend to dominate the debate. There is no telling which side will win, but the evidence from Europe and many other parts of the world is disquieting in the extreme. Separatist movements, virulent anti-immigration and extreme right-wing parties are springing up like weeds in spring.

"If the deep and clearly expressed needs of the mass of the people are systematically thwarted, then the temptation [is] to turn for salvation to extremists..."

The scientific aspect needs to be set forth against the vast panorama of human history in which just about all groups, all the time, have pursued what they perceived to be their self-interest with any means at hand. Out of this Darwinian melee has appeared the unique evolutionary fact, as noted above, that very powerful and highly organized groups, whole nations, are now voluntarily giving appreciably higher priority to the interests of substantial out-groups than to those of their own majorities. In this debased form of "altruism," as practiced by a detached power elite, there may be a queer sort of analogy with the biological principle of "competitive exclusion," and the likely outcome is that the out-groups will progressively take over. The

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out-groups strenuously pursue their self-interest while the in-group rejects its own. More and more articles are being written in the USA giving the coming takeover a rapturous welcome, or at least fatalistically accepting its inevitability and meekly exploring the consequences for the present native majority and the nation as a whole.

* * *

The conference opened with Professor Hoffman-Nowotny's scholarly introduction, but I wish there had been sufficient cover of the deeper historical perspective. The flavor of the debate was that immigration problems had only recently burgeoned and gate-crashed the American scene. No doubt numbers and problems have exploded in recent years and bid fair to be even further amplified, but they have troubled humankind from time immemorial. Herodotus (460?-377 B.C.) noted that whenever and wherever a large number of immigrants appears "... a terrible perturbation always followed."

About three generations ago, at the 1927 World Conference on Population in Geneva, a group of distinguished scholars discussed with great openness the modern problems of migration. They laid down the foundations of a clear analytical framework, a sound ethical basis, and the beginnings of social and political structures which would help to regulate and optimize the mighty migratory currents which could already be espied on the horizon — although world population was then estimated at only 1.8 billion, one-third of what it is today. A few brief extracts will give the flavor of this substantial section. In his introductory paper, M. Albert Thomas, then director of the International Labor Organization at Geneva, pointed out that recent "... evolution from practically complete liberty to increasingly strict regulation by collective and national action has had a very considerable effect on migration" and that this was already causing international friction. "... the policy of exclusion pursued in regard to Asiatics in the U.S. in particular, and also in certain countries, such as Australia, has given serious offense to Japan and inflamed opinion in that country to an alarming extent." This latter is ironical, is it not, in light of Japan's subsequent exclusion of nearly all immigrants until very recently, including even the Vietnamese Boat People on her own doorstep.

In his proposals for a supranational body to regulate migration "... probably ... premature or utopian ...", Thomas distilled four general principles, including:

(a) *Individuals should be entitled to ... settle abroad only under certain conditions, the idea of absolute freedom ... being no longer valid and quite impractical.*

(b) *...an international authority ... agreed [upon] by ... free will ... should ... lay down the conditions under which territory ... obviously unoccupied ... might be thrown open to certain classes of immigrants.*

(c) *... [every country] would be entitled to ... a right of selection as [its] ... vital principles should certainly not be threatened by invading swarms of migrants.*

(d) *International rules ... might form protection against excessive growth of certain sections of the world population where [it] ... may represent a danger for neighboring countries.*

He contrasts the "the sacred principle of the liberty of movement" with the putative "right of overpopulated nations to occupy other lands" and then asks "... is it possible to impose on a people ... national minorities, with all the inconveniences that [they] imply?"[9]

A Soviet scholar, Doctor A. Koulisher, argued that "[migration] laws exist and ... operate with tremendous force ... [the] process goes on through the ages like the ebb and flow of the ocean ... it is no use shutting our eyes to the gravity of the situation. Cheap optimism will not help ... it would be a childish illusion to think that the richer countries can be forced to admit the populations of the poorer countries; they will not do it ... to force a country to admit immigrants is to promote the making of war. The richer countries should help potential immigrants to get a living at home."[10]

The remarks of a US contributor, Doctor C. B. Davenport, seemed to bear this out. He stated of the then recent tightening up in the 1920 and 1925 legislation, "Chiefly two aims have been set, and ... gained, to give an opportunity for assimilation, and secondly, the preservation of a reasonable degree of homogeneity in ... the United States."[11]

How these two sets of remarks resonate over the succeeding two or three generations! It seems to me

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that in many important respects both scholarship and practical politics have markedly regressed over this period. In my view, students of these problems — plus those concerned with practical affairs — can often gain both insight and encouragement from these older writings, and it might help if FAIR or the CIS reprinted the appropriate chapters in pamphlet form.

It may already be too late for the moderate majority opinion to assert itself and take its rightful place in the control of the political process, but beliefs can turn into self-fulfilling prophecies. It follows that the best option is to work on the assumption that it is *not* too late, that democracy can and must be made to work, and that every effort should now be put into the development of calmer, saner, and more sustainable policies. ■

NOTES

1 Leon Bouvier, *Peaceful Invasions*. Washington, D.C. (1991) Center for Immigration Studies, pp. 158,159.
2 Ibid., p. 190.
3 Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *The Disuniting of America*, Knoxville (1991) Whittle Books.
4 Larry Auster, *The Path to National Suicide*, Monterey, Calif, (1990) The Immigration Control Foundation.
5 Trevor Huddleston, *Naught For Your Comfort*, London (1953) Nelson.
6 "Five Views of Multi-Racial Britain," London (1978) The Commission for Racial Equality.
7 e.g. A. Bhat, et. al., *Britain's Black Population*, Aldershot UK, Brookfield, USA, (1988) Gower.
8 Anon., *The Other Side*, No. 22, Spring 1981, The Environmental Fund.
9 M. Sanger (ed.) *Proceedings of the World Population Conference*, London (1927) Edward Arnold. pp. 259, 260, 263, 268, 269.
10 Ibid., p. 290.
11 Ibid., p. 27.

Immigration In the News

The Poles are bracing for a hefty influx of Russians trying to avoid the ramifications of economic hard times. The French are wary of the possible migration of Algerians that may come as a result of the election of an Islamic fundamentalist government in their homeland. Albanian pressures on the borders of Italy... Haitians on the high seas... The media is reporting the social and political ramifications of migratory movements of human population in other parts of the world. And, at last, the issue of how immigration affects the United States is being uncovered by the media as evidenced in, among other publications, *The Kiplinger Washington Letter*.

The issue of the *Letter* dated December 27, 1991 gives a year-end view of changes to be expected in the United States because of increased immigration. The statistics, of course, are a distillation of those found in the 1990 US Census and they point to the demographic changes propelled by increased immigration that are beginning to impinge on such important issues as educational curricula, affirmative action in hiring, eligibility for human services, border control, official English, and other cultural and public policy matters.

Detailing where immigrants are coming from and where they will settle, the Kiplinger Washington Editors describe immigrant pressures on California, Texas, New Mexico, Florida and New York. They predict the make-up of the US labor force in years to come and allude to the possibility of ethnic tensions rising as minorities compete for entry-level jobs.

While encouraging entrepreneurs to capitalize on these changes, the authors of *The Kilpinger Washington Letter* are reminding us all that the changes taking place in the makeup of the American population will bring their share of problems. Can these prospective changes not also inspire a more thoughtful review of immigration policy? (On this topic, see also Leon Bouvier's essay beginning on page 98.)

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Viktor Foerster is an attorney in private practice in Nürnberg, Germany. This article is based on a speech he gave October 24, 1991 at the international immigration seminar on "Responses of Western Industrial Nations to High Immigration Demand" sponsored by the Center for Immigration Studies in Washington, DC.

IMMIGRATION IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

By Viktor Foerster

NURNBERG, GERMANY

One cannot begin any analysis of immigration questions in the Federal Republic of Germany without first referring to recent events. In the last few months there have been numerous incidents of violence directed against foreigners and refugees seeking asylum in the new united Germany. Many people have attempted to associate this violence with renewed widespread support for nationalism and even neo-Nazi ideas. But, this is not the case. Whilst there may be some dissatisfaction in the public as to the increase in the number of foreigners coming to Germany since the opening of "the Wall" and the fall of the "Iron Curtain," the attacks against foreigners have been isolated incidents, usually committed by "skin heads" and fringe neo-Nazi groups. In the German public as a whole, such individuals have little support.

THE CURRENT IMMIGRATION SITUATION

Although the figure is frequently overestimated, the percentage of foreigners in terms of the total population of Germany is 7.3 percent — slightly more than 2 percent from other countries in the EC, and just over 5 percent from outside the European Community. This latter figure is composed mainly of Turkish and Yugoslavian nationals who came to Germany originally in the 1960s and 1970s under employment schemes supported by the German Government and designed to boost the German "Economic Miracle." These schemes have since been discontinued and, in fact, the Federal Government has recently offered monetary incentives for the migrant workers to return with their families to their home countries.

Since, under the various treaties of the European Community, nationals of Community countries are entitled to a virtually automatic right of residence in any other country of the Community, the question of refugees relates only to foreigners from outside the EC. In this regard, within the figure of 3.2 million non-EC foreigners in Germany, some 865,000 can be identified as refugees:

- 83,500 persons entitled to asylum or refugee status;
- 167,000 dependents of persons entitled and seeking asylum;
- 35,300 quota refugees admitted under humanitarian relief schemes;
- 32,700 displaced foreigners;
- 310,000 so-called "de facto" refugees: These are persons who either had not applied for asylum or whose application has been rejected, but who nevertheless will not be deported to their home countries for humanitarian, political or other reasons; and
- 236,000 asylum-seekers whose asylum procedures are pending.

In addition to the asylum applicants whose applications are currently pending, there has been a dramatic development: the increase of new applicants from 16,000 persons in June 1991 to a total of 28,000 persons applying in August 1991.

"The latest figures available reveal that only 4.4 percent of all applicants for [asylum] are successful."

In the first nine months of 1991 alone, over 170,000 foreigners have formally applied for political asylum. By using the official statistics from the month of August 1991, it is apparent that increased pressures are coming from Eastern countries,

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although, obviously, the figures are partly distorted by the recent conflict in Yugoslavia.

Table 1.

Applicants for Asylum

August 1991:	28,272
Yugoslavia	7,446
Romania	6,395
Turkey	2,152
Bulgaria	1,658
Vietnam	896
Nigeria	861
Iran	771
Afghanistan	625
India	625

The growing number of applications for political asylum can be seen in stark contrast to the dramatically sinking success rate. The latest figures available reveal that only 4.4 percent of all applicants are successful. In 1971 the success ratio for political asylum was about 57 percent. There is no doubt that this dramatic change relates to the number of applications for political asylum, which has increased some 25 times during this period. Behind these statistics lie new trends in "economic migration" toward the richer countries of Europe — and Germany in particular.

The financial burden involved with dealing with such numbers of refugees is immense. In 1984 alone, the German government expended over DM 2.8 billion, and in 1990 this figure had nearly doubled to DM 5.4 billion spent for accommodating and processing refugees.

PROCESSING ASYLUM SEEKERS

The current number of pending applications for asylum in the Federal Republic of Germany is about 200,000.

The record number of asylum-seekers in 1990 was complemented by a high number of ethnic German immigrants from Eastern Europe, which amounted to over 397,00 *Aussiedler* (German ethnic immigrants). In addition, 238,000 *Ubersiedler* (Germans from what was formerly East Germany) moved to the territory of West Germany during the first six months of 1990, until the abolition of border control in July 1990.

Quite naturally, political discussions in 1990 concentrated on the unification process of the two Germanies. Within this context, the problem of the capacity of the German economy (especially in the housing and labor markets) to absorb such a high number of newcomers figured highly on the agenda.

LEGAL BACKGROUND

The so-called "Basic Law" or constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany states in Article 16 that: "Persons persecuted on political grounds shall enjoy the right of asylum" — thus it allows politically-persecuted aliens to be granted asylum legally in the Federal Republic. This means that the granting of asylum is not subject to political discretion. The Basic Law therefore goes further than the general provisions of International Law and the law of other countries, including the European neighbors of Germany.

"[Federal Government policy] has stated that: 'The Federal Republic of Germany is not, nor shall it become, a country of immigration . . .'"

The German Federal Constitutional Court has held that protection under asylum law should be granted to anyone who would be exposed to persecution in a way involving danger to life and limb or personal freedom, or, generally speaking, to any persons who have reason to fear political repression.

Thus, no persons seeking protection from political persecution in the Federal Republic may be turned back at the border, nor may they be deported to any country in which they may face persecution.

When a person is recognized as being entitled to asylum, this person has a right to an unlimited residence permit and refugee travel documents. This status is comparable to that of German nationals — legally, socially and economically.

PRINCIPLES OF POLICY

The aliens policy of the Federal Government aims, firstly, at the integration of aliens living legally in our country, particularly recruited foreign workers and their families. It also restricts further immigration from non-EC states. Finally, the

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Government wishes to give assistance for the voluntary return and reintegration of foreigners to their home countries. Aliens living permanently in Germany are supposed to be integrated into the main economic, social and legal system of the country. The need for integration and harmony, however, can be achieved only if any further immigration from non-EC states is effectively and consistently restricted.

This is a long-standing principle followed by all parties bearing responsibility within the Federal Government. With regard to the policy aimed at restricting any further immigration in 1991, the Federal Government of Germany has stated that: "The Federal Republic of Germany is not, nor shall it become, a country of immigration ... [and that] ... any further immigration of aliens from non-EC-member states is to be prevented by all legal means."

The basic doctrine of the Federal Government's policy regarding aliens is reflected in the Act amending the Aliens Act that took effect on January 1, 1991. The purpose of the new Aliens Act is to put into practice the Federal Government's basic principles regarding aliens policy in so far as it makes easier the integration of aliens legally resident in Germany by increasing noticeably the predictability regarding the resident's status.

The new Act also serves the purpose of restricting further immigration by reinforcing the recruitment ban for foreign-workers from non-EC-member states.

CONCLUSION

At the moment extensive consultations are taking place between the Government and the Opposition in order to, as the Government would like it, amend Article 16 of the Basic Law. However, the Opposition has already declared that it is not prepared to support an amendment to the Basic Law, and without the support of the Opposition in the legislature where a two-thirds majority would be necessary, such an amendment cannot be passed. The failure of the present system for processing asylum-seekers is due to the divergence of opinion between the Opposition and Government parties at the federal and state levels. And even within the Federal Government, which is a coalition of three political parties, there are major differences of opinion on further reforms to the laws for political refugees and foreign immigration.

Any attempt to amend the rights guaranteed to refugees in the Basic Law are thus unlikely to succeed. But the politicians are considering other options for responding to the flood of *de facto* immigrants. First, there is a desire to improve and speed up the administrative and processing methods for asylum-seekers. The processing of an application on up to the decision by the Immigration Authority can take between one and two years. This could be reduced considerably to a matter of weeks.

Second, suggestions have been made toward new immigration legislation as opposed to refugee or asylum-oriented laws. Germany is a *de facto* immigration country; it must become a *de jure* immigration country. The application procedures for political asylum are being misused and abused in lieu of comprehensive immigration legislation.

Finally, there is an increasing need seen for the development and enactment of a common European policy and law on immigration and asylum matters. The main aim of this should be to protect the common external borders of the European Community, and to establish common legal and social conditions for immigrants to any EC country. ■

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Journalist Robert Rice picks up on the theme raised by Viktor Foerster in the conclusion of the previous article: the need in the European Community for a common policy on immigration in general and asylees and refugees in particular. Reprinted by permission from the Financial Times *of London.*

TRYING TO STEM THE REFUGEE TIDE

AN URGENT NEED FOR ONE POLICY

By Robert Rice

When British Prime Minister John Major warned European heads of state that Europe faced a right-wing backlash unless the European Community took immediate action to stem the tide of immigration, he touched a raw nerve. Immigration — both legal and illegal — has moved to the top of the political agenda all across the Community. Many politicians are starting to think, and a few to say, that Europe is already full, with an estimated 10 million immigrants, and that the need to harmonize immigration policies is now urgent.

Yet despite general agreement on the need for European cooperation, several member states have already taken unilateral action to tighten their immigration and asylum laws. The British government, which had pushed strongly for cooperation in this area, introduced changes in the United Kingdom's asylum laws to speed up and simplify procedures and tackle the growing problem of asylum abuse. France, announcing measures to crack down on illegal immigrants, said that it intended to deport between 300,000 and 1 million of them. Germany confirmed that it would go ahead with the deportation of between 50,000 and 100,000 illegal immigrants.

There is little doubt that Europe is under strain from the constant growth in the numbers of people seeking asylum and in the rapidly rising costs of processing claims. Refugee organizations such as the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees have warned that present developments will eventually lead to the collapse of traditional Western asylum systems unless changes are made.

The problem with the present system — based on the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees — is that it was developed largely from the experience of handling refugees from Eastern Europe between 1950 and 1975. But in the mid-1970s, the focus of the refugee problem began to shift from Europe to Southeast Asia and Africa, largely because of an increase in political oppression and civil wars in those regions. At the same time, recession and rising unemployment in Europe following the 1973 oil crisis prompted governments to impose tougher immigration controls. As the new measures began to bite, the number of asylum applications began to rise.

"The bulk of the rise in the overall numbers of asylum seekers can be attributed to the increase in the number of economic migrants."

In Europe, the number of immigrants fell from 1.2 million in 1973 to between 700,000 and 900,000 a year by 1990. But the number of asylum seekers rose from 14,000 in 1973 to 71,000 in 1983 and to 500,000 in 1990. With present trends, asylum seekers will outnumber conventional migrants within four years. This presents European countries with a political dilemma. Most of them pride themselves on their willingness to provide asylum for genuine refugees — those who, according to the international standard laid down by the UN, are unwilling or unable to return to their country of origin "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion." But the more that asylum becomes a costly form of immigration control, as now appears to be the case across Europe, the more the public support for genuine refugees will fall away. The danger is that governments will be panicked into introducing restrictive asylum rules that will adversely affect genuine asylum seekers.

The bulk of the rise in the overall numbers of asylum seekers can be attributed to the increase in the number of economic migrants. In 1989 alone,

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120,000 asylum seekers arrived in the EC from three European states — Poland, Yugoslavia and Turkey — all with high unemployment and poor economic conditions. This problem has been exacerbated by the collapse of the communist regimes of the East. At the same time the number of applicants being granted refugee status continues to decline, while the number whose applications have been rejected but who are allowed to stay on humanitarian grounds is growing. Overall in Europe, it is estimated that 75 percent of applicants who undergo the full asylum procedure after pre-screening at ports of entry stay in the country. Roughly half remain legally, while the other half stay illegally or semi-legally. Meanwhile, the costs of processing these asylum seekers have soared.

So far cooperation on immigration policies within the EC has been confined to two conventions: the Convention on Asylum, also known as the Dublin Convention, which provides that asylum seekers will be allowed to file their application in only one member state; and the Convention on the Crossing of External Borders, under which member states cooperate systematically in imposing visa requirements on nationals of the same countries and sanctions on those who transport people who do not possess the required visas or travel documents. Both conventions are awaiting ratification but should be in place by the end of 1992. In addition, the Schengen Agreement, which has been signed by some EC members, provides for uniform principles to be applied by its members in controlling their external borders. Such a policy is causing great concern among refugee agencies, who worry that the net effect will be to obstruct those in real need of asylum. Governments may assert that people who need protection can apply for visas, but in practice this is often difficult. Many asylum seekers have to flee urgently and cannot wait for a visa.

The real problem is that cooperation among member states is largely meaningless unless and until procedures and criteria for determining refugee status within the community are harmonized. At the moment, inconsistencies within the EC mean that an asylum seeker who may be recognized as a refugee in one member state may be refused such recognition by another. The fear among refugee agencies, however, is that such harmonization could lead to some of the more restrictive policies and practices being applied across the community. Whose approach will be followed: Britain's, France's, Germany's?

If governments are serious about retaining an efficient and fair system, they need to consult with the non-governmental agencies concerned with the protection of human rights and refugees before they finalize any arrangements. At the moment, there are no signs of this. ■

Of Interest to Our Readers...

NPG Forum, the vehicle for special communications of Negative Population Growth, recently published a paper by Lindsey Grant which adds significant detail by way of numbers to the question of "free trade with Mexico" which was featured in the Fall 1991 issue of *The Social Contract*. Entitled "Free Trade and Cheap Labor: The President's Dilemma," Mr. Grant's impressive essay is available from Negative Population Growth, Inc., 210 The Plaza, PO Box 1206, Teaneck, NJ 07666-1206. Please send a stamped self-addressed envelope.

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James H. Walsh reflects on the international conference on migration at Turin, Italy that he attended in November, 1991. Mr. Walsh is Associate General Counsel with the Immigration and Naturalization Service in the U.S. Justice Department. The opinions expressed below are his own and do not reflect the opinions or policy of the Department of Justice nor of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

MIGRATION AND THE NEW EUROPE

By James H. Walsh

Migration experts, meeting at Turin, Italy, in late November 1991, agreed that the major part of migration to Europe today is economic and environmental rather than political. Debate focused on whether most migrants today qualify for asylum as defined in the 1951 United Nations Convention on Refugees. The experts suggested that the UN Convention on Refugees may need updating.

The New Europe, from the Urals to the Atlantic, is receiving four major migration patterns: East to West within Europe, East to West from Asia, South to North from the Middle East, and South to North from Africa. While many Turin conferees were convinced that Europe cannot absorb Third World immigrants at the current rate, others pointed to Europe's low birth rate and need for workers.

The Center for Migration Studies of Staten Island, NY, publishers of *Migrationworld* magazine, co-sponsored the conference with the Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli of Turin. Lydio F. Tomasi, Executive Director of the Center, and Sylvio M. Tomasi, Director of *International Migration Review*, organized the conference with the theme: "The New Europe and International Migration." The purpose was to discuss draft articles for a special issue of the *Review*. A panel of experts from 17 nations, including the authors of the draft articles, represented the United States and the European Community (EC) as well as Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, the Netherlands, Poland, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the USSR. Of forty panelists, ten were from the US, and the majority of these were university professors.

Over the three days, participants heard detailed reports by each country. The Soviets described a brain-drain from their nation to western Europe and North America. Estimates in the West are that up to 10 million Soviet citizens will migrate in 1992, while the Soviets put the figure at closer to 1.5 million.

In discussions of "post-partition" Germany, old questions were heard again over what constitutes a German, French, Pole, Hungarian, or Czech national. Two world wars haven't resolved this, and neither did the conference.

Thomas Straubhaar, a Swiss professor of economics, proposed the institution of a General Agreement on Migration Policy (GAMP) similar to the existing General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Such an agreement, on the lines of a migration impact study, could redefine and control future migration patterns.

It was my impression that, across Europe today, electorates are telling their governments to stop the flow of migration into their countries. As this "closed door" policy spreads, migration issues are moving from low politics (national and domestic concerns) to high politics (foreign affairs, international trade and commerce, national security). The generic history quiz answer — the rise of nationalism — is raising its head once again. Although communism, over the past 45 years, effectively froze eastern and central Europe in time, it merely suppressed nationalism rather than eliminating it. Is it possible for the new nationalism to be the glue that will unite ethnic groups within newly emerging countries?

Pegging the root cause of migration from Third World nations as poverty and frustration with living conditions, the conferees centered their humanitarian concerns on what they saw as "the right of all humans to a healthy environment and standard of living." The Turin conference weighed the benefits of aid to Third World countries against aid to immigrants themselves.

The question is whether the New Europe can resolve the conflicts between nationalism and humanitarianism, and whether it can introduce reason into the chaotic global migrations that face us in the coming century. ■

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Otis L. Graham, Jr. is a professor of history at the University of California - Santa Barbara and editor of The Public Historian. *He is revising his American history textbook to include population, resource use, and environmental change in our past. This is a first for any such text. His reading and research on this project have put him in an excellent position to give us this survey of the recent literature about immigration.*

THE WIND HAS SHIFTED

A NEW AGENDA FOR IMMIGRATION REFORMERS

By Otis L. Graham, Jr.

SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA —

What a remarkable period this has been in the public discussion of the cluster of issues which is now brought together by *The Social Contract* — immigration, population, culture, nationality, language, national cohesion, rights vs. responsibilities, and much else! The backdrop has been the dramatically unfolding story, commencing in 1989, of the collapse of the communist regime and perhaps the dissolution of the USSR itself, yet these events have been paralleled by far-reaching changes within the United States in both elite and popular discussion of, and, apparently, attitudes toward, the cluster of issues in which many of us are interested. The national internal debate has markedly changed and continues to change, and the climate that produced the disastrous immigration law of 1990 is no more.

When the immigration law of 1990 passed and was signed in November by the President, part of the explanation for this act of public policy that was so out of step with popular opinion was the intellectual climate among American elites. The restrictionist side(s) of the argument was stigmatized, stereotyped and stifled. A great taboo-blanket kept unfashionable facts and perspectives from being expressed or given a fair hearing. "There has been a conspiracy of silence among liberals and conservatives on the subject of immigration," wrote Peter Skerry in *The New Republic* in June, 1991, which was half the truth — the other half was a stifling of the debate by motive-assassination and a blanket of superficial myths.

Those of us who treat contemporary immigration as a problem have long been acutely aware of this climate and could find no way to alter it significantly, though we were surely making some difference. It was hard to make immigration a topic, a subject for discussion. Myths were frequently evoked (the usual Statue of Liberty incantations about the national identity being tied up in welcoming the world's poor, homeless, etc.), and those persons attempting to address immigration's problematic aspects were not only smothered in these myths but fenced in by taboos. "One must not raise concerns about immigration," they intoned. Those who did, the taboos asserted, were acting out of base, racist motives. Where discussion of the growing immigration problem broke through the taboos, restrictionist arguments and views were misrepresented, underrepresented and distorted. The expansionist side tended to have the "moral high ground" and to get away with shabby, outdated arguments. The situation seemed to be getting worse as the 1980s became the 1990s. Added to the myths of immigration's supposedly benign economic impact came a set of cultural arguments: America needed more "diversity," a term never defined or analyzed. "Diversity" was a Good with no critics. "Multiculturalism" was a kindred idea, asserted by partisans, but there was no critical examination.

A CHINK IN THE ARMOR

Then, in 1990, there began a tidal shift.

The label "Politically Correct" (PC) was somehow born and at once we centrists had a handle on the albatross around our necks. Actually, the term "Politically Correct" (or Political Correctness) has a history (not yet mapped, to my knowledge), and is defined in the new *Webster's College Dictionary* as "marked by or adhering to a typically progressive orthodoxy on issues involving race, gender, sexual affinity, or ecology." The term's obscure history is contained within the history of the far Left. But in 1990 the concept of PC became national terminology for a widening set of taboos, and articles on PC clarified how and where the intellectual climate has

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been policed in the interest of, at once, the "growth lobby" on immigration (to use Katharine Betts' term) and those assaulting the "Eurocentric" core of American culture. In "The Rising Hegemony of the Politically Correct," (*The New York Times*, October 29, 1990), Richard Bernstein reported on the pressure to conform to a "progressive" ideology on American university campuses. The cat was out of the bag! PC was the "intimidate-the-opponents" and "control-the-agenda" side of a two-pronged strategy to change the country radically. The other prong of the strategy was the social reconstructionist program running under the misleading term "Multiculturalism."

"The immigration reform movement, quite familiar with such epithets [as 'racism' and 'racist'], might now have to be rebutted with more believable language."

With the journalistic discovery of PC, the tide turned. The language taboos of the multicultural left, which for so long had channeled and limited the argument, not only about immigration but about broader social changes, were exposed to ridicule and attack as "liberal McCarthyism," on campus and in the media. Major journals took up this theme (*Time, Newsweek, The New Republic, The New York Times*), and President Bush devoted a speech at the University of Michigan to the dangers of PC. Campus codes of "correct" and "incorrect" speech were given publicity — most notably the Smith College code that required one not to say "fat" but "gravity-impaired" and not "disabled" but rather "differently abled," condemned all the familiar "isms" while inventing some new crimes ("lookism:" the bigoted view that appearance matters), and in general decreed that value judgments about values were out of bounds. Campus climate dictated that all cultures and cultural values were of equal worth, and all were positive — except, of course, the operative norms of Western Civilization which had a shameful past and, hopefully, no future.

No one could say how much truth there was in the portraits of the American university scene by authors such as Dinesh D'Souza, whose *Illiberal Education* is a powerful polemic. And critics of PC were sometimes uncomfortable in the company of D'Souza (once a conservative Dartmouth student) and former Secretary of Education William Bennett, who had given Stanford's curricular reforms much unwanted (to the campus) publicity. But it was notable that many well-known members of the campus liberal and left communities agreed that there was extensive censorship, official and self-adopted, on America's campuses. Yale's C.Vann Woodward saw some merit in D'Souza's book, Eugene Genovese declared war on the campus McCarthyites from the left, and Stephen Thernstrom at Harvard told the story of his harassment by the PC police while teaching history — judging the climate to be worse than that of the 1950s.

The chief significance of the uproar over PC was to expose a nasty mood of intimidation both on and off campuses, and to underline how the words "racist" and "racism" had been so abused as to be worthless and, therefore, no longer quite so intimidating. The immigration reform movement, quite familiar with such epithets, might now have to be rebutted with more believable language. Another result was to call attention to the pervasive drive for what was called "Multiculturalism," but which, upon inspection, turned out to be not an accepted and benign continuous welcoming of many cultures into the American mix, but a virulent dislike of all things "Eurocentric" and, in its most aggressive form, a repudiation of the American heritage as to language, history, and culture. Writers found aggressive "Multiculturalism" of this sort at work in the worlds of art and music as well as literature. Liberal historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. wrote a brilliant critique of the efforts to impose a new sort of history in the schools (*The Disuniting of America*, 1991). *Time* and other magazines carried reports that the upcoming 1992 "celebration" of the "discovery" of America by Columbus was not going to be that sort of event this time, but a contentious occasion in which angry spokespersons for the invaded Native Americans and their natural environment would deplore the very establishment of European settlements in the New World. Europe had come to America 500 years ago and, on the eve of that quincentennial, it seemed that everywhere in America things European were in retreat.

Thus, in 1990-91, it looked as though the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Albania were not the only

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multi-ethnic nations flying apart due to forces from within. Perhaps they were only the most advanced in the process of dissolution. Canada, for example, could be seen as only somewhat further back in the process. The headlines in 1990, and especially in 1991, were about 'the disintegrating nations' of the old Soviet bloc, but American "op-ed," editorial, and news columns increasingly carried a broad story of the loss of social cohesion at home. (And this essay is written just after the nation witnessed, in the confirmation hearings of Judge Clarence Thomas, the most divisive episode in relations between the sexes that comes to memory.)

THE IMMIGRATION CONNECTION

Many writers began to see the connection of immigration to all of this where they had not admitted to seeing it before. Riots in Washington, DC in the early summer of 1991 between Salvadorans and blacks had an obvious root in immigration that no one attempted to deny. Since blacks could not comfortably be called "racist," their objections to the growing population of Central Americans underlined immigration's inequitable costs. The "Third-Worldization of the United States" (a term which one would hope the media could find useful) was reported, in pieces, around the country. Cholera was recounted to be moving northward within Latin America and, by the end of summer 1991, was anticipated in shantytowns near San Diego and detected in Louisiana oyster beds. The news in California was a steady drumbeat of Third World symptoms — gang violence, social and class polarization, extensive underground economies. A New York writer, David Rieff, authored *Los Angeles: Capital of the Third World* in August 1991, and devoted considerable attention to immigration. Governor Pete Wilson, who as Senator had never seen a Mexican farmworker that he did not want to welcome into California's fields, said, upon looking at the state's burgeoning deficits and social service spending, that there was a limit to the amount of immigration the state could absorb. The economic "recovery" claimed as a reality by the Bush administration in 1991 was too weak to be distinguished from recession, setting an economic climate of anxiety over job loss. George Hobbs, gruff mayor of Santa Maria, who declared that his city had "a Mexican problem," was condemned as "a racist" by spokespersons for the "Mexican community," but won re-election in June by a 62 percent majority.

And just as October 1991 arrived, Leon Bouvier's *Fifty Million Californians?* was published by the Center for Immigration Studies, carrying the most disconcerting news of all about the demographic prospects facing that state — the foremost haven for immigrants. California's population was growing explosively, he asserted, and the state's sharply differentiated fertility rates would inexorably transform the state into a very different mix of peoples. Bouvier thrust into public consciousness the incendiary news of birth rates: California's Total Fertility Rate (TFR) had vaulted upward from 1.9 to 2.3 in just six years (1982-88), with immigration of high fertility people the obvious lever. The Anglo TFR was at 1.7 in 1988 alongside the Asian at 2.5 and the Hispanic at 3.5 — figures depicting a social revolution in progress that apparently no one was permitted to discuss.

"European politics was quickly transformed as in France, Germany, Italy and elsewhere anti-immigrant sentiment and high social welfare costs forced officials and political parties to scramble for tougher positions."

Also in October 1991 there arrived in Washington a group of European representatives to take part in a conference, sponsored by the Center for Immigration Studies, centered on the political dilemmas of the newly emerging European Community in the face of rising tides of immigration from Africa, the Near East, and the former Soviet bloc. The media, in 1991, have been brimming with stories of the enormous refugee flows, and the potential of even larger flows, produced by the breakup of the USSR and other regimes in the communist bloc — stories such as "Five Million Want to Leave, Soviet Official Says" (*Washington Post*, January 26, 1991), and a "Special Edition" of the *Los Angeles Times* on October 1, 1991 which addressed the surge of human movement to be expected in the 1990s. European politics was quickly transformed as in France, Germany, Italy and elsewhere anti-immigrant sentiment and high social welfare costs forced

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officials and political parties to scramble for tougher positions. These stories powerfully conveyed to Americans a truth that their editorialists and intellectuals generally had denied: that immigration was a very large problem (see the cover story in *The New York Times Magazine*, Judith Miller, "Strangers at the Gates," September 15, 1991).

"The immigration reform movement does not yet have adequate language, nor enough spokepersons, to talk about these demographic impacts . . ."

These turbulent changes in the world map, in domestic discourse and in outlook did not alter America's immigration law nor the numbers coming over the border. But it is clear that the concern over increasing tribalism within American society is high and rising. The demographic impacts of immigration are advancing to the fore, and carry social implications that cause a deep uneasiness which, as yet, has little voice beyond Bouvier's. The immigration reform movement does not yet have adequate language, nor enough spokespersons, to talk about these demographic impacts — lacks language and credible spokespersons for distinguishing between Bad and Good Multiculturalism so that the former may be resisted. Yet, little flags of courage are being raised here and there, and the topic of massive immigration seems to be breaking free of the confines within which the intellectual and media elites have held it. Expansionists Julian Simon and Ben Wattenberg still live and write, as does California's Joel Kotkin, a second-rate but energetic booster of the idea that ageing America desperately needs a constant infusion of Third World blood. But, on the other tack, we have George Borjas arguing that the quality of immigrants has fallen sharply, the Leftist Christopher Lasch writes now of limits and of the impossibility of taking in all the world's poor (*The True and Only Heaven*, 1991), liberal writer Robert Kuttner asks if the time has not come for a national ID card, liberal author Robert B. Reich makes a powerful case that a high-quality workforce is the key to the American economic future and directly questions whether immigration should be the source of either low- *or* high-skilled workers in the future (*The Work of Nations*, 1991), and Otis L. Graham, Jr. concludes that if one thinks hard about the actual, and also the ideal, goals of immigration the nation no longer needs much of it at all (*Rethinking the Purposes of Immigration Policy*, 1991).

IMPLICATIONS

I conclude from this review not simply that the times they are a changin', as anyone can see, but that the general alarm about our national direction is rapidly rising, that the immigration connection is inexorably coming forward in public discussion, and that fear of being labelled "insensitive" or "racist" ought no longer deter those who do not like the numbers coming over the borders, the composition/selection process, or both. The intellectual elites, whose success in stifling Australia's discussion of immigration is lucidly described in Katharine Betts' fine book, *Ideology and Immigration*, are losing their tight grip on discussion in the US. [Please see Dr. Betts observations on her visits to America on pp. 74-77 in this issue.]

As the sports announcers say, the "momentum has shifted," or so it seems. The Expansionists (we still do not have the proper label for them) are on the defensive, and discourse-controlling mechanisms are exposed and under attack. But the positive case for restriction needs continued elaboration, and the debate over the proposed US-Mexico Free Trade Agreement has added a complicated issue that the immigration reform movement, like nearly every other group, finds difficult to absorb into its framework of ideas.

In a changed intellectual climate, where should we concentrate our efforts? Perhaps Kotkin has hold of a vulnerable point when he stirs fears that an ageing society faces a "labor shortage" and also an energy, brains and creativity shortage. We can answer this but so far have not — effectively. The breakup of the USSR has toned down Wattenberg's hymns about the "universal nation," but we need to follow up by pointing out the negative side of deliberately dismantling America's cultural core by bringing in new citizens faster than they can be assimilated. It is certainly time for a critical discussion of that innocent shibboleth, "Diversity." As the political establishment and intellectual/media

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elites begin to share the public's concerns about the direction of the nation's culture — its very cohesion — they necessarily are brought up against the immigration connection. Perhaps an outlandish idea is now almost thinkable: that there was some merit (if much demerit in some of the terminology and underlying rationales) in the long-dead debate leading up to the laws of 1921 and 1924 and the decision by the Congress of the US that immigration should not destabilize the ethnic composition of the nation. That debate would be a short one in Japan with a clear answer, and both Germany and France are now engaged in just such a discussion — they *regret* the necessity for it, while we do not yet *see* the necessity for it. But that seeing seems much closer as we move into 1992.

In the US, we need to continue to emphasize and educate about the demographic implications of ongoing trends. The demographic transformation of California makes it a tutor to the country. But for immigration policy to change there must be political events that centrists on immigration have never been able to create. Repeal of sanctions seems to be going nowhere, and both sides are, in fact, politically dead in the water. What is needed now is for restrictionist public sentiment to "take some expansionist scalps" in those elections in which candidates who explicitly raise the immigration issue can defeat those who ignore it or take the expansionist side. "Expansionist scalps in '92!" ought to be the rallying cry. The central news of 1990-1991 is not that public opinion has changed, for such evidence as we have seen suggests that the broad public remains as it has been: opposed to massive immigration, beginning to be fatigued over the growing numbers and the assertiveness of the homeless, fearful of joblessness and of urban pathologies. The real news of 1990-1991 is that elite opinion has actually, at long last, begun to shift — at least to the extent of opening the media to the bad news that we have been trying for so long to get people to face. And the leftist thought-police have overplayed their hand and lost their tight grip on the language shaping the agenda. When events open a door a bit wider, it seems time to explore the new vistas. ■

[The author wishes to thank Elizabeth Koed for research help and for many clarifying discussions.]

Salutation for the Politically Correct

In June of 1991 Garry Trudeau addressed the graduating class at Yale and opened his remarks with this greeting:

"Dean Kagan, distinguished faculty, parents, friends, graduating seniors, Secret Service agents, class agents, people of class, people of color, colorful people, people of height, the vertically constrained, people of hair, the differently coiffed, the optically challenged, the temporarily sighted, the insightful, the out-of-sight, the out-of-towners, the Eurocentrics, the Afrocentrics, the Afrocentrics with Eurail passes, the eccentrically inclined, the sexually disinclined, sexy people, sexist pigs, animal companions, friends of the earth, friends of the boss, the temporarily employed, the differently employed, the differently optioned, people with options, people with stock options, the divestiturists, the deconstructionists, the home constructionists, the homeboys, the homeless, the temporarily housed at home, and, God save us, the permanently housed at home."

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Leon Bouvier was formerly vice-president of the Population Reference Bureau and is now Visiting Professor of Sociology, Old Dominion University, and Adjunct Professor of Demography, Tulane University School of Public Health. The following paper is derived from his recent book Fifty Million Californians? *published by the Center for Immigration Studies and distributed by the University Press of America.*

CALIFORNIA'S FUTURE POPULATION: LARGER AND MORE DIVERSE

By Leon Bouvier

The announcement from the US Bureau of the Census that California's 1990 population was 29,760,021 was a surprise. Yet that number is an undercount. On June 13, 1991, the Bureau announced it had missed over 1.1 million. Almost 30.9 million people lived in the Golden State as of April 1, 1990.

This unexpectedly rapid growth brought the issue of over-population home to many people. During the 1980s, California's population increased by over 25 percent. So rapid growth is nothing new, but it has new significance as the state approaches or exceeds its carrying capacity.

Equally remarkable has been California's shifting ethnic composition. As recently as 1970, over 77 percent of Californians were Anglos or Non-Hispanic Whites while Hispanics represented 12 percent of the population. By 1980 the ethnic shares had narrowed to 67 and 19 respectively. Today Anglos comprise only 56 percent of all Californians while Hispanics constitute 26 percent. Asians and Others (including Pacific Islanders and Native Americans) grew from 4 percent in 1970 to 10 percent in 1990, while Blacks remained at about 7 percent. (These proportions differ slightly from those of the original count by the Bureau of the Census — they reflect the adjustments for the undercount of 1.1 million.)

What happened demographically in the 1980s in California? Migration, domestic as well as international, averaged 330,000 annually rather than the expected 200,000 to 250,000. While not anticipated, this was not a big surprise. Furthermore, the 1986 Immigration and Refugee Control Act (IRCA), which allowed for amnesty for certain illegal immigrants living in the country before 1982, may have resulted in more foreign-born residents coming forward to be enumerated in 1990 than in 1980.

"What was surprising was the rise in fertility. Recent data indicate... a substantial increase in fertility during the 1980s."

What was surprising was the rise in fertility. Recent data from the Demographic Unit of the California Department of Finance indicate a substantial increase in fertility during the 1980s. In 1982 the total fertility rate was 1.95. By 1989 it had reached 2.48 — an increase of 27 percent. All ethnic groups participated in this increase, but the gain was particularly marked among Hispanics. Their fertility rose from 3.2 in 1982 to 3.9 in 1989. Given the demographic surprises of the 1980s, what can we expect in the future?

According to our medium scenario, **California's population will surpass 50 million by 2016 and reach almost 54 million by 2020** (See Table 1). [*For the medium scenario, fertility rates fall linearly to 2.0 in 2020 for Blacks and Asians and to 2.5 for Hispanics. The Anglo rate is 1.8. Total net migration is 330,000 per year distributed as follows: 45% Hispanic, 40% Asian, 10% Anglo, 5% Black. For the high scenario, fertility rates remain at their current levels and net migration is 440,000 per year. For the low scenario, fertility falls linearly to 1.8 by 2020 for all groups and net migration is 150,000 per*

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Table 1
Projected California Population, 1990 to 2020
by Scenario
(in thousands)

Scenario	1990	2000	2010	2020
High	30,876	39,192	49,203	61,858
Medium	30,876	37,772	45,316	53,804
Low	30,876	35,445	39,823	44,242

year.] By 2020 there will be almost two Californians for every one today. Despite fairly rapid fertility decline and only moderate levels of migration, the state can expect to continue to grow at an annual rate (1.8 percent) almost as high as that noted in developing countries like Brazil and India.

According to our high scenario, California's population will surpass 50 million by about 2011. By 2020, it will approach 62 million. Over the thirty-year period, the average annual rate of growth will approximate 2.3 percent.

According to our low scenario, California's population will reach about 44 million by 2020. Over the thirty-year period the average annual rate of growth will be 1.2 percent — greater than that recorded for any industrial nation in recent years. Thus, despite extremely optimistic assumptions about declining fertility and migration, the state's population will continue to grow rapidly for the foreseeable future.

The demographic die may be cast. Unless drastic declines in immigration and fertility occur soon, California is destined, not only to grow, but to grow swiftly for many years to come.

FUTURE ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION

According to the medium scenario, Anglos will be 48 percent of the state's population by the year 2000; that share will fall to 36 percent by 2020 and by then, Hispanics will be the largest minority in a state composed solely of minorities. Asians will see their share of the population increase from 10 percent today to 17 percent in 2020 while the Black share will fall slightly. (Table 2)

The shifts in ethnic proportions are somewhat more marked under the high scenario. The "no majority" situation is imminent and by 2010 Hispanics and Anglos will be almost even in numbers. Even under the low scenario, Anglos will lose their majority status by 2005 and Hispanics will approach parity by 2020. California is on the verge of becoming a truly multi-racial society where no single group will predominate numerically.

California in the 21st century will be much larger than it is today; it will be increasingly heterogeneous; it will be older. Regardless of the scenario, the conclusion is the same.

THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION IN CALIFORNIA

The educational system in California is facing a challenge of crisis proportions. In county after county and city after city, budgets are being cut, teachers and non-teachers alike are being laid-off, class sizes are increasing while arts, music and even after-school sports programs are being dropped. At the same time, the school population is growing by 200,000 every year.

About 5.7 million children between 3 and 18 are currently attending California schools — both public and private. Less than half are Anglos while 34 percent are Hispanics, 11 percent Asians, and 8 percent Blacks. (Table 3)

Future changes, whether in numbers or in ethnic composition, will be striking. Over this decade, school enrollments are projected to increase by 2.1 million — assuming a continuation of recent enrollment rates. Over the next 30 years, the state will have to build one 650-student school every day to keep up with growth. If we assume 10 acres for each school, 160 square miles will have to be set

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Table 2
Projected California Population
by Scenario and Ethnicity
1990 to 2020
(percents)

HIGH	1990	2000	2010	2020
Anglo	56.6	47.1	39.5	33.0
Black	7.1	6.9	6.7	6.6
Hispanic	26.3	32.5	37.6	42.4
Asian	10.0	13.5	16.2	18.0
Total	30,876	39,192	49,203	61,858
MEDIUM	1990	2000	2010	2020
Anglo	56.6	48.0	41.3	35.9
Black	7.1	7.0	6.9	6.7
Hispanic	26.3	32.0	36.3	40.0
Asian	10.0	13.0	15.5	17.4
Total	30,876	37,772	45,316	53,804
LOW	1990	2000	2010	2020
Anglo	56.6	51.6	47.7	44.5
Black	7.1	7.2	7.3	7.5
Hispanic	26.3	30.0	32.7	34.7
Asian	10.0	11.2	12.3	13.3
Total	30,876	35,445	39,823	44,242

aside for school construction over the next 30 years. That area is equal to about four San Franciscos!

By 2010, student enrollments could reach 9.3 million and by 2020, over 10.4 million children will be enrolled in California schools.

Within ten years, Hispanics will surpass Anglos and be the largest ethnic group attending primary and secondary California schools. The Asian share will almost double that of Blacks. Only among secondary schools will Anglos still outnumber Hispanics.

The rapid ethnic shift will continue unabated in the 21st century. Within thirty years, almost half of all children attending California public and private schools will be Hispanic, while Anglos will represent just over one-quarter, Asians 19 percent, and Blacks 7 percent.

The growth and diversity anticipated for California's schools pose qualitative and quantitative challenges. Qualitatively, schools must reduce high dropout rates, especially among Hispanics and

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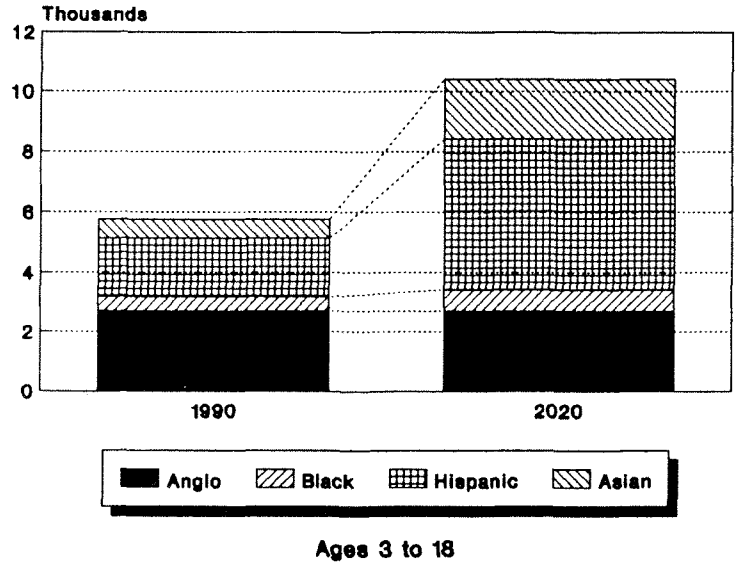
Figure 3.2 — Enrollment Projections: 1990 to 2020



Blacks; continue to raise academic achievement levels; employ more teachers and more effective teachers; and continue to play a central role in the cultural adaptation of the children of immigrants. Quantitatively, California must be prepared to spend more, and not less, for its educational system.

Such financial demands could not have come at a worse time. As the state struggles with its largest deficit in history, it must also face the fact that its schools are in critical condition — and that condition will worsen in the future.

"While much has been written about the benefits of diversity, little has been said about possible increased tensions among groups."

All Californians have a stake in the effectiveness of the state's schools because schools train tomorrow's workers and leaders and are thus significant for the health of the future economy. The schools must give California's future work force the knowledge and skills needed to increase the standard of living in the world's sixth largest economy. Furthermore, California's labor force will be an increasingly larger fraction of the national labor force, so declining quality of the state's labor force has growing national implications. The future work force mirrors the changing student body; over the next twenty years almost all of the net additions to the work force will be women, members of minority groups, or immigrants — most of them persons who, at the present, are being ill-prepared by the schools.

DIVERSITY: BLESSING OR DRAWBACK?

Diversity has long been considered one of the great strengths of California. Immigrants and minorities have contributed significantly to the betterment of the state. However, the current racial and ethnic shifts taking place leave unanswered the question of how further immigration and diversity will affect the citizens and institutions of the state. The point is not that these shifts toward a "minority-majority" society are bad. They definitely are not. Fifty million people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds living harmoniously together would be the ultimate model of a "true community" for the rest of the world.

The question is: will they live together harmoniously or will the recurrent interracial battles so often reported in the media become the norm? While much has been written about the benefits of diversity, little has been said about possible increased tension among groups.

To put it in sociological terms, what form of cultural adaptation will emerge in such a heterogeneous society? At one extreme is cultural separatism, in which the groups are socially isolated from one another, often through segregationist practices by the host group. At the other extreme is cultural amalgamation where a new society and culture results from massive intermarriage among the groups.

Between these extremes are pluralism, assimilation, and the melting pot. In pluralism, the society allows the various ethnic groups to develop, each emphasizing its particular cultural heritage.

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Assimilation assumes that the new groups will take on the culture and values of the host society and gradually discard their own heritage. Following the seminal study by sociologist Milton Gordon, cultural assimilation (or acculturation), where a subordinate group takes on many of the characteristics of the dominant group, is distinguished from structural assimilation, where that subordinate group also gains access to the principal institutions of the society.[1] In the melting pot, the host and immigrants groups share each other's cultures and in the process a new group emerges. Throughout California history newcomers as well as long-time residents have had to adapt to one another. Otherwise the society could not have survived.

Can the relative success achieved in the adaptation of previous immigrants and their descendants into a new "melting pot" within the majority population be duplicated with the current and future mix of racially diverse ethnic groups?

This seems unlikely given the situation in 1990-2000 as compared to that in 1890-1900. The differences in economic structure, in the possibilities of inter-ethnic marriages, and in the increasing emphasis on group rights, and particularly in the level and persistence of immigration — are far too great to envision a new interracial melting pot in the foreseeable future.

"Too often we confuse the pluralistic character of our society with acceptance of cultural pluralism."

Hopefully cultural separatism is a thing of the past. Yet there are those who would favor such a process. A few Mexican-American irredentists dream of a new Spanish-speaking Southwest as a way to take back demographically what the United States took militarily some 140 years ago. And there are always a few segregationists who would dearly love to keep all the races separate and "in their places."

The choice apparently is between assimilation and pluralism. Too often we confuse the pluralistic character of our society with acceptance of cultural pluralism. California is pluralistic in the sense of having many religions and ethnic groups in its population. Nevertheless, it has constantly striven to achieve overall unity in its basic interests and ideals. The nation's motto, *E Pluribus Unum,* succinctly captures the "ideal" society.

On the other hand, cultural pluralism, as presently conceived, gives rise (in the words of Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.)

> *to the conception of the United States as a nation composed not of individuals making their own choices but of inviolable ethnic and racial groups. It rejects the historic American goals of assimilation and integration. And, in an excess of zeal, well-intentioned people seek to transform our system of education from a means of creating 'one people' into a means of promoting, celebrating, and perpetuating separate ethnic origins and identities. The balance is shifting from* unum *to* pluribus."[1]

Cultural pluralism is not the best path for the state to follow if it seeks unity rather than fragmentation.

The challenge to California is to ensure that all its residents, of whatever background, have equal access to all avenues to success and, in the process, adapt to the mainstream culture, while contributing to that culture's ever-changing content. At the same time, all of the state's residents, of whatever background, deserve the option of maintaining their own subculture within the broader society. As the state becomes increasingly multi-ethnic, it is important that it choose a form of adaptation that combines the best of pluralism and assimilation.

Admittedly, assimilation and multiculturalism are difficult subjects to discuss. As California Tomorrow's Lewis H. Butler has stated: "I understand the arguments for avoiding the subject, but I think they are totally irresponsible."[3] The demographic engine is running. The state is growing and changing rapidly. Advocates of pluralism argue for increased multiculturalism; advocates of assimilation argue for more unity with respect to diversity. The people of California must decide which direction to follow in the 21st century.

POPULATION GROWTH AND THE ENVIRONMENT

California, like the United States, is beset with environmental problems. A bad water shortage is getting worse; air quality is deteriorating; waste

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disposal capacities have been pressed beyond their limits; the state's transportation system is clogged. The list goes on and on.

These critical problems have one thing in common. Population growth is a major contributing factor. To be sure, other factors are involved. However, in every instance, reductions in population growth would ease the problems. Population growth may not always be *the* villain of the piece — it is always an accomplice, at the very least.

1. **Water Supply.** In its July 22, 1991 issue, *Time* devoted its cover story to the over-utilization of the Colorado River. It concluded: "So far, California has been able to cope with water shortages which have been exacerbated even further by its booming population, by syphoning off the unused portion of the Upper Basin states' allocation from the river and encouraging conservation. But the time when such halfway measures will no longer suffice is fast approaching."[4]

"California may soon be using 3 million acre-feet more water than it receives in a typical year."

Last year the demand for water was about 34.7 million acre-feet. Yet the amount that can be delivered with normal rainfall and without drawing more from the ground than is normally restored is some 2.4 million less.[5] The output of water from the Colorado River has been grossly overestimated. "Instead of the 16.9 million acre-feet estimated to be there for the dividing [*i.e.* between the states of the Upper and Lower Basins], the river has been flowing at a rate of only 14.9 million. During the present drought that figure has dropped to about 9 million acre-feet a year."[6]

California may soon be using 3 million acre-feet more water than it receives in a typical year. It is estimated that an acre-foot of water is enough to meet the needs of a family of four for one year. Twenty million more Californians will require about five million additional acre-feet of water if their needs are to be met. Is it realistic to assume that that much potable water can be located over the next two decades?

2. **Air Quality.** Most Californians breathe unhealthy air, and they have for years. State Air Resources Board member Harriet Weider recently commented: "The south coast air basin has the worst air quality in the nation . . . three times more ozone than federal standards allow." She further noted that "recent studies found a 10 percent to 15 percent erosion in the lung function of children born and raised in crowded Southern California."[7]

"With the quality of life of all Californians at stake, it is time to leave behind the name-calling and examine what the levels of immigration should be."

According to the Air Resources Board (ARB), virtually all of the carbon monoxide problem is due to motor vehicles. The transportation sector accounts for 57 percent of all carbon emissions, half of which comes from cars and light trucks.[8] Over 7 million automobile trips take place every day. If the state is to reduce air pollution, the number of such trips, and, by implication, the number of automobiles, must be reduced. Many schemes have been suggested such as increasing the number of passengers per car or stressing public transportation. But even if these suggestions were feasible, any improvements would soon be engulfed by population growth.

For example, before 2020 the population will have increased 60 percent. If nothing else changes, this will require a reduction of 37.5 percent in the *miles* driven by each person just to keep the already poor air quality as it is. Is such a draconian reduction feasible?

3. **Waste Disposal.** Landfills everywhere are nearing capacity and ocean dumping sites are increasingly limited. Southern California has already reached its limits for burying garbage: the landfills are full. Sewage problems are equally severe. "The city of Los Angeles processes most of its sewage at the Hyperion Sewage Treatment Plant which is unable to keep up with demands caused by increased population. Because of this, 800 million gallons of only minimally treated sewage spews into the ocean every day."[9]

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On average, each Californian produces about 3.5 pounds of solid waste every day. That amounts to over 19 million tons per year. Even if per capita consumption remains at current levels, annual waste will reach 32 million tons before 2020 at current population growth rates. Where will it be disposed of?

4. **Infrastructure.** The problems facing California's infrastructure are immense and growing. Freeways, bridges, railroad tracks, and mass transit (where available) are all deteriorating. Over the past two decades, traffic has grown six times faster than highway capacity. State transportation officials fear that it will be virtually impossible for enough new miles of highway to be constructed to keep pace with population growth. This is particularly true as suburbs are extended farther and farther away from the central cities to accommodate the burgeoning population. The result is sprawl, choked highways and massive traffic congestion. The number of vehicles is projected to increase from 19.4 million to 35 million by 2020.

The list of similar infrastructure problems related to population growth is almost endless. Population growth worsens each of these problems. All levels of government are struggling to catch up with the needs of growing numbers, and all too often fail to maintain systems built in the past or to improve them for the future.

* * *

CONCLUSION

Past and present demographic behaviors have given us 30 million Californians. Present and future demographic behaviors promise to give us many more millions. Yet Californians can do something about limiting growth and even ending it if they really want to. California need not "grow out of control," as *Newsweek* recently suggested.[10]

Growth can only be diminished, and eventually ended, through drastic reductions in fertility and migration. (Increasing mortality levels is another way to reduce population growth, but it is unlikely to be accepted as an option!) If growth is to stop eventually, fertility must fall substantially among all groups. Public and private agencies alike should work to raise the consciousness of all Californians about the problems of high fertility and population growth. Reducing adolescent pregnancy as well as unwanted pregnancy at all ages should be a special concern.

This does not mean that the society or the parents don't love children. Many parents would dearly want to have more children, but they know that it is better to limit themselves to perhaps two offspring for the benefit of both the children and the society.

But even success in reducing fertility will not solve population growth problems if immigration is allowed to remain high. If net migration — domestic and international — were drastically reduced, and if fertility fell rapidly for all groups, California's growth could end soon after 2050 with a population of less than 50 million.

Yet, bringing up the subject of lower immigration subjects one to bitter accusations: one is labelled xenophobic, racist, or worse. With the quality of life of *all* Californians at stake, it is time to leave behind the name-calling and examine what the levels of immigration should be if the state is to ever see an end to growth.

"It makes no sense to be able to discuss birth control and not immigration. They are both components of population growth and must be addressed without fear of emotional attacks."

Limiting immigration contributes to lowering, if not ending, population growth. Limiting immigration makes it easier for the society to assist immigrants in adapting and progressing in American society. It also makes it easier for the immigrants themselves to join society's mainstream.

This does not mean that the society doesn't like immigrants. Immigrants have contributed tremendously to the social and economic success of California; they continue to do so today and will in the future. Just as many Californians are "pro-children," but value quality over quantity, so, too, are they "pro-immigrant," but, again, prefer quality over quantity.

It makes no sense to be able to discuss birth control and not immigration. They are both

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components of population growth and must be addressed without fear of emotional attacks. If population growth is a problem, then all sources of population growth must be examined.

There is a built-in momentum in the state's population growth, and this makes it a crisis situation. The time to act is now. The population will grow — how much depends on what is done to reduce fertility and immigration. The state's ethnic composition will change. That can be all for the good if reasonable people address the issue rationally, or it can lead to a new kind of cultural and racial separatism.

California is at a crossroads. It is time for representatives of all groups — racial and ethnic, political, educational, business, religious — to meet together to ask: What kind of California do we want in the twenty-first century? In the process of addressing this question, the California population and society of the future will gradually be defined. ■

NOTES

1 Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, (New York: Oxford Press, 1964), chap. 3.

2 Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "The Cult of Ethnicity, Good and Bad," *Time*, July 8, 1991, p. 21.

3 As cited in Dick Kirschter, "A Multiracial, Multicultural Golden State," *National Journal*, September 1, 1990, p. 2048.

4 Paul Gray, "A Fight Over Liquid Gold," *Time*, July 22, 1991, pp. 24-25.

5 Eliot Diringer, "Heart of Water System is a Sinking Mess," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 15, 1991, p. 8.

6 *Time*, op. cit., p. 23.

7 Harriet Weider, as cited in Tom Harris, "State Anti-Growth Era Called Likely," *Sacramento Bee*, November 3, 1989, p. A-5.

8 California Energy Commission, *The Impacts of Global Warming in California*, 1990.

9 Dawn Glesser Moore, "Testimony before the Subcommittee on Census and Population of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives," 1988, p. 18.

10 *Newsweek*, "California Grows Out of Control," July 11, 1991, p. 30.

Impact of Illegal Immigration on the Los Angeles County Budget

In an April 1992 memo to the Board of Supervisors, Los Angeles County Administrator Richard Dixon outlined the impact of illegal immigration on county finances. After indicating that border apprehensions have climbed to pre-Immigration and Control Act (1986) levels, Dixon estimated that the net cost to LA County of services provided to undocumented aliens had grown from $207.2 million in Fiscal Year 1989-90 to $276.2 million in FY 1990-91. The estimated Federal costs increased from $57.7 million in FY 1988-89 to $140.5 million in FY 1990-91, and could reach $533 million by 2000.

A large portion of the impact, Dixon reported, was due to provision of AFDC payments to children of ineligible alien parents. He also listed the costs of county health services for births to undocumented alien mothers in FY 1990-91. Of the 44,001 births in county and "contract" hospitals, 28,829 births (65.5 percent) were to undocumented alien mothers at a cost of $28.48 million.

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Roy Beck, Washington Editor of The Social Contract, *headed the Washington Bureau of Newhouse Newspapers' Booth subsidiary from 1987 to 1991. He is working on a book about the effects of US population growth and immigration policy on the US environment and quality of life.*

IMMIGRATION: NO. 1 IN U.S. GROWTH

New Look Shows Greater Role in 1970-90 Population Increase

By Roy Beck

A new computer study requested by *The Social Contract* shows that immigration is a far greater contributor to US population growth than usually stated. In fact, during the last twenty years immigrants and their descendants have contributed more than half the growth.

The news media almost universally say that immigration contributes to about a third of US population growth each year. Even people concerned about high immigration have been heard to use the figure. One-third is a very important proportion that demands attention. And it is substantially accurate, but only in terms of a single-year perspective.

The one-third figure seriously understates the full population impact of immigrants and their fertility rates over a longer period of time, according to the work of demographer Leon Bouvier. He is former vice president of the Population Reference Bureau and adjunct professor of demography at Tulane University School of Public Health.

His results open the way for the use of these much more powerful statements of the impact of immigration:

- Immigration is not simply a *major* force behind growth; rather, immigrants and their descendants have been the *No. 1* ingredient in US population growth since 1970.
- More than 50 percent of population growth since 1970 has been caused by immigrants and their descendants.
- New immigrants and the descendants of other post-1970 immigrants are likely to contribute two-thirds of population growth in the '90s.
- The institutionalization of environmentalism began around 1970, and a presidential commission recommended population stability, yet federal immigration policies have resulted in an additional 24 million Americans, with no end in sight.
- Baby boomers surprised demographers by having small families and thus reducing the expected population growth. But immigration doubled that growth.

Why then do almost all public pronouncements limit the impact of immigration to one-third or even less?

It happens because it is one accurate way to state proportions and is the easiest, Bouvier says. If you consider the start of each year a blank slate, you simply add up the number of known net immigration during that year — say, 500,000 — and relate that to total population growth — say, 1.5 million. Thus, you have a one-third proportion.

But that method never considers the fact that in ensuing years immigrants have babies and their babies grow up and have babies, all at significantly higher rates than for other Americans — hence the caveat: "and their descendants." An example of how misleading the simple method can be is found in "The World Almanac and Book of Facts 1991." It shows that "natural increase" of Americans was responsible for 71 percent of growth during the '80s while new immigrants made up 29 percent of it. But by the end of the decade, a larger and larger portion of that "natural increase" was the descendants of early-'80s immigrants.

Bouvier's method provides a much cleaner picture and also accounts for illegal immigration without having to rely on estimates. He did this by asking the question: What would have happened to the US population had there been no immigration? He built on reliable US Census data. He took the multi-ethnic 1970 US population of 203 million and the way it was known to have broken down by age and gender. He applied fertility and death rates of the period and ran the age groups through the computer program.

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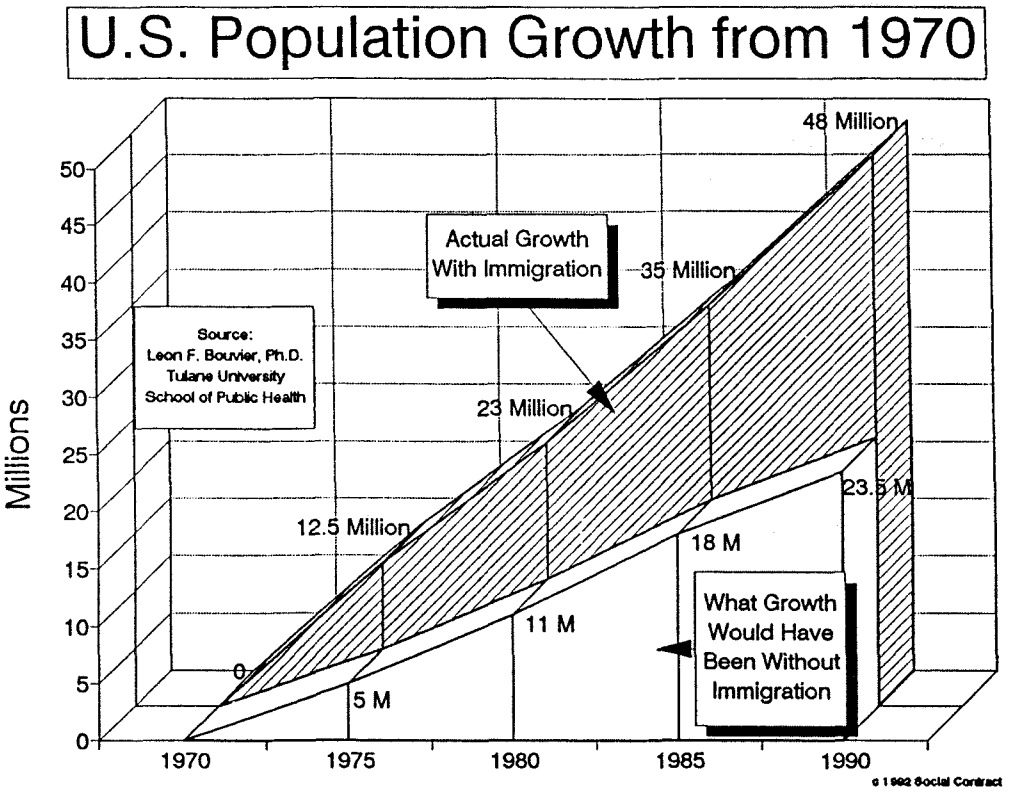

The United States population would have increased by less than 24 million persons between 1970 and 1990, but immigrants and their descendants radically increased the growth by more than 24 million additional people.

Once he found how many people today were here in 1970 or are descendants of that population, he knew the rest of the population had to have arrived as immigrants since then, or be their descendants.

The year 1970 was chosen as the benchmark because it began the decade in which the modern environmental ethic was formalized in many government policies. It also was the time of the first Earth Day and part of a period of much public clamor for halting population growth for the sake of the environment. In 1972, a presidential commission concluded there were no substantial benefits from adding any new population and that resolution of many environmental, social and economic problems would be enhanced by population stability. Bouvier's figures point dramatically to the ignored warning.

Even without immigration, of course, the '70-vintage Americans were bound to grow on their own because the gigantic generation of baby boomers was moving into child-bearing years. Growth was not as high as it might have been because boomer women averaged less than two children each. Nonetheless, they were responsible for an extra 11 million Americans by 1980, Bouvier found.

But their environmentally and socially responsible behavior on family size was substantially negated by the nation's immigration policy which more than doubled the population growth to 23 million by 1980.

Without net immigration, Americans would not have added 23 million to their number until nearly 10 years later.

Imagine life today with only 1980's population — only the same number of automobile drivers as then and without the urban sprawl that has been added during the last decade!

In fact, the nation added 48 million people from 1970 to 1990. Of these, almost 25 million were the result of US immigration policies.

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Post-1970 immigration forced the nation to contend with the pollution, infrastructure requirements, and space needs equivalent to adding to the country another New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit, Memphis, Washington D.C., New Orleans, Cleveland, Miami, Newark, Buffalo, St. Louis and, to round it out, 15 more cities the size of Las Vegas.

But Bouvier's projections paint an even more heart-rending portrait of what might have been.

Without net immigration, the baby boom echo would have been starting to grow faint by now. The 1990s would have been a time when the population growth curve began to flatten. The '70-vintage Americans, under the projections, would have had 65 years to adjust local and national frameworks to the additional Americans that in fact have been added in only the last 20 years.

Bouvier shows that the baby boom echo, and echoes of the echo, would have run out of steam allowing the population to top out at 247.2 million in 2035. Instead, under current immigration policies and fertility rates, we may be looking at 350 million people and still growing by 2035 — another 100 million people. That's more than twice the increase that has created the incredible congesting of America during the last two decades.

And during the '90s? Bouvier's compilation shows that '70-vintage Americans would have created a nation that would grow only by 8 million during the '90s. Instead, US Census projections indicate, we're probably looking at between 24 and 26 million more people! ■

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Dan Stein is the Executive Director of FAIR, the Federation for American Immigration Reform, sponsor of the conference on "Myths and Taboos: Immigration Policy in the Era of the Politically Correct" which is featured in this issue of The Social Contract. *This opinion piece is from the* New York Times, *December 14, 1991.* *© 1991 The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.*

HAITIANS SHOULD FOLLOW THE RULES

By Dan Stein

The spectacle of Haitian migrants crammed into leaky boats headed for the United States has led to judicial decisions and well-intentioned Congressional proposals that would be disastrous for this country and fatal to thousands who would be encouraged to attempt the hazardous 600-mile voyage.

An exodus similar to the Mariel boatlift, which brought 125,000 Cubans to this country in 1980, would create a fiscal crisis in Florida, especially in communities that would have to absorb thousands of destitute migrants.

Worse still, it is likely (and probably already the case) that the number of Haitians who drown at sea will be greater than the number of Haitians who were killed by the leaders of the military coup on September 29th that ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

Two judicial decisions have barred the Government from repatriating Haitians rescued on the high seas; this has turned a trickle of migrants into a steady stream.

Several bills in Congress would grant temporary protected status to any Haitian who survives the voyage; most of them probably would be allowed to stay permanently, and this would turn the steady stream into a mass exodus.

Citizens of that overcrowded island, where per capita income is about $360 a year, have sought to escape on unseaworthy vessels for decades. The current increase in migrants did not begin until a month after the coup, when the effects of the embargo imposed by the Organization of American States began to be felt.

The State Department estimates that half of all Haitians trying to reach the United States do not complete the voyage; at least 135 have died already. Congressional proposals offering temporary protection status to Haitians, therefore, would be tantamount to an official inducement to play Russian roulette.

No previous grant of temporary protected status to other nationalities has included an open-ended invitation for people to leave their homelands and come to the US. In each previous instance, asylum was granted only to those already here. No group that has been granted temporary status has ever gone home, and the Haitians surely would be no exception.

Many proponents of temporary status for Haitians, principally Representative Charles Rangel, Democrat of New York, argue that the United States os treating the migrants unfairly for racial reasons. Nothing could be further from the truth. More than a million Haitians — one-sixth of their country's population — live in the US. Moreover, Haiti has been a leading source of legal immigration to the US, with more than 130,000 admitted in the past decade.

South Florida, where most of the Haitians would wind up, has yet to recover from the effects of the Mariel boatlift. The bill for resettling the 125,000 Cubans who arrived in 1980 and a nearly equal number of Nicaraguans who were granted "temporary" status in 1990 has come to well over a billion dollars, most of it footed by local taxpayers.

The US Government must take steps to insure the safe departure and protection of legitimate political refugees from Haiti without setting off a perilous exodus. While things are still manageable, we must begin the screening process in Haiti, not on the high seas nor once the immigrants have landed in Florida. Those who have a plausible fear of persecution should be transported for temporary protection to the US or other countries such as Honduras or Venezuela, which have already accepted Haitians.

In our sincere efforts to help the Haitians and restore their democratically elected government, we must do more than mean well. We must be sure that, at the very least, our policies do not cause further harm. ■

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UNTIL WE GET OUR HOUSE IN ORDER, LET'S STOP TAKING IN IMMIGRANTS

By Charley Reese of the *Orlando Sentinel*

Are we suffering from unemployment? Yes. In many cities it's in the double digits. Do our governments at the various levels have ample funds to provide for infrastructure and public education? They all say no. Do we have large numbers of Americans living in poverty? Yes.

Then why in the name of reason does Congress admit nearly 900,000 new immigrants every year — and talk, even now, about admitting more under various categories? Nine hundred thousand souls equals a new major metropolitan area per year.

It's time to shut the door, at least for a few years, until we have a chance to get our house in order financially, economically and socially. We should shut it on a non-discriminatory basis — to everyone.

When you have 28,000 Americans apply for 100 production jobs, as happened recently in Kansas City, you darn sure don't need to be adding 900,000 people per year through immigration looking for jobs.

The United States in 1991 is not the United States of 1890. We have neither the need nor the ability to absorb large numbers of immigrants without aggravating serious problems in our society. We need time to assimilate the millions of relatively recent immigrants already here. There are forces at work that would tend to Balkanize the United States, and this challenge has to be met if we wish to leave our children and grandchildren a viable country in which to live.

Another problem, which immigration is aggravating, is the loss of good-paying jobs people with a high school education or less can work at. We have more and more people competing for fewer and fewer jobs, and that is a recipe for all kinds of nasty things, as desperation and toleration are not found together in the real world.

No kidding, we are facing a problem of historic proportions, and to allow the politicians in Washington to go on catering to special-interest groups in a business-as-usual fashion can have disastrous results.

Nor are we under any moral obligation to accept any immigrants, either as immigrants or refugees. It's a tough world. There are an estimated 15 million refugees in various places and more millions of people who would, naturally enough, love to get into the United States in the hopes of building a better life for themselves.

Our first moral obligation, however, is to our own people, millions of whom are also desperate for a better life. And when I say our own people, I mean all of them — black, white Anglo, Hispanic, Asian or whatever. Anybody who's here is full-fledged American, and it is the welfare of all these Americans that must be made a priority of the government.

God knows I have sympathy for people suffering in foreign countries, but I'm tired of seeing Americans suffer while American largesse and American policy are diverted to non-American causes. Americans, since the end of World War II, have without too much exaggeration carried the rest of the world on their shoulders, and it's time to shuck the burden.

Congress not long ago increased immigration by 35 percent, and as I said earlier, several attempts are being made to further increase immigration. This isn't rational or kind. It's, first of all, catering to ethnic lobbyists. It's, second of all, catering to those who see immigration as a means to push down America's living standards and to make significant political changes. And third, it's stupid.

Does anybody think New York City has lots of surplus resources? How about Grand Rapids, Michigan? Their unemployment rate is 17.2 percent. And of course, the federal government has no deficit and no Himalayan-sized public debt, does it?

I have never seen in my life 535 men and women more consistently out of touch with reality than the present members of the House and Senate. Let's put our ship of state in dry-dock and scrape off the barnacles. Later we may be able to accept more passengers, but not now.

* * *

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Vernon Briggs, professor of labor relations at the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University, co-authored with Leon Bouvier: Population and Labor Force in New York from 1990 to 2050, *published by the Population Reference Bureau. His books include* Immigration Policy and the American Labor Force, *and he is currently at work on* Mass Immigration and the National Interest. *This article follows up the proposed Free Trade Agreement with Mexico highlighted in the Fall 1991 issue of* The Social Contract.

THE MEXICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT:

An Idea Whose Time Has Not Yet Come

By Vernon M. Briggs, Jr.

Like a "bolt out of the blue," the idea of a free trade agreement with Mexico suddenly appeared on the nation's political agenda. With no advance discussion or careful forethought of its ramifications, the presidents of the United States (George Bush) and Mexico (Carlos Salinas de Gortari) jointly announced on June 10, 1990 their intention to commence negotiations between their countries for such a mutual relationship. The idea was to replicate the process whereby both the United States and Canada had ratified a similar accord only a year before. The ultimate objective, it seems, is to create a North American free trade area encompassing the economies of the three nations.

"Laws to protect the worker and the environment that do exist in Mexico are seldom enforced with vigor or regularity..."

Without diverting to a prolonged discussion of the events that led to the Canadian-United States agreement, it is imperative to state the obvious: Mexico is not Canada. There is little comparison between the economic conditions and the institutional structure that exist between Canada and Mexico. Among the world's industrial nations, Canada has one of the strongest labor union movements (close to 40 percent of the labor force are members). Its union movement is independent and fiercely defensive of worker rights. In Mexico, less than 10 percent of the labor force are unionized at best. Moreover, the labor movement (i.e., the *Confederación de Trabajadores de Mexico*) is part of the broad coalition of interest groups that comprise the political party that has ruled Mexico for over 60 years, the Party of Revolutionary Institutions (PRI). It is not an independent force nor an active voice for worker welfare. As Octavio Paz has poignantly written, the Mexican union movement is but another example of an institutional structure where "form everywhere masquerades as substance."

In Canada, the wage rates in comparable occupations closely approximate those of the United States whereas in Mexico the respective wage rates are but a fraction of those in the United States. For example, in Canada the average hourly earnings in manufacturing in 1988 were $13.53 while they were $13.85 an hour in the United States but only $1.99 in Mexico (and only $.98 in its border assembly plants called "maquiladoras").[1] In Canada, there is a broad array of social insurance programs (including national health insurance) and a commitment to their continuance; in Mexico, there are only minimal social protections and they are very limited in coverage and benefits. The unemployment rate in Mexico for 1989 was three times the rate of Canada and four times that of the United States. In Canada there is an institutional structure of governmental agencies in place whose mission it is to enforce worker and environmental protections; in Mexico few such laws and fewer such agencies exist. Where they do, the relevant government agencies are underfunded, poorly staffed, inadequately trained, and often lack dedication to their missions. Laws to protect the worker and the environment that do exist in Mexico are seldom enforced with vigor or regularity and, when attempts are made to do so, they are often undermined by the widespread toleration of the practice of the *mordida* (i.e., the "bite", or the bribe of the enforcement officials). Hence, to compare the ground rules that led to the feasibility of a trade agreement with Canada with

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those of Mexico is to compare something that is substantial with literally nothing.

Nonetheless, the Bush Administration, following the joint presidential announcement, sought to place these negotiations on a "fast track" that would preclude subsequent amendments by Congress of the end product. Congress would be presented with only a "yes" or "no" option. After extensive debate in the Spring of 1991, Congress ultimately gave its approval to this procedure but the vote was close and the critical tenor of the debate should serve as a warning that the fate of the proposal is far from assured.

THE BROADER POLICY CONTEXT: MARKETS VERSUS RULES

The proposal for a free trade agreement with Mexico is but the latest example of a broader movement led by the United States toward less regulated trade worldwide. It has its peculiarities, of course, because of the vast disparities in the stages of economic development between the neighboring nations, but its specific efficacy must also be evaluated within this wider context as well.

"Free trade" as an abstract slogan is hard to question. It is analogous to the emotive phrases "right to life" or "right to work" in its ability to simplify complexity and to stifle thought. Such phrases act as "sound bites" to the mind of the uninformed listener. They often preclude responses because it takes time to answer in a reasoned manner to a cliche.

But "free trade" is more than just a passing political gambit. It is part of a broader and conscientious strategy currently in vogue in the US that is designed to discipline the hopes of the nation's workers and to reduce their expectations for a better and more secure standard of living in the future. It is the latest plank to be added to the free market catechism of free trade, unlimited immigration, and deregulation of industry. Collectively, the pursuit of these principles is designed to reduce the discretionary rule-making and regulatory role of public and private organizations in democratic nations by increasingly moving toward a *laissez faire* environment where invisible market forces alone determine economic outcomes.

Market forces, however, have traditionally manifested little concern for worker rights, human welfare, or environmental protections. These forces have no sensitivity for the adjustment difficulties often experienced by individuals, their families, or their communities to such unfettered decisions. Indeed, since the early 1970s, the increasing acceptance of these principles has contributed to a steady decline in the real income of US workers and their families.[2] Yet their supporters continue to extol their imagined virtues.

Under the free market paradigm, markets are assumed to be efficient. Hence, any interference in their operation is alleged to be a distortion from perfection — no matter how humane, compassionate, or wise it might seem to do so. But if one starts from the opposite assumption: that markets are not inherently efficient, interventions into an imperfect world can improve the conditions of life and welfare of both individuals and nations. For instance, anti-discrimination laws can provide greater opportunity for work to be done by the most productive workers; health and safety laws can assure that workers are able to have long and productive work lives; and child labor laws can guarantee that there will be a future supply of healthy and capable workers.

"...without work standards, the loss of economic sovereignty is tantamount to the loss of political sovereignty."

Market forces, as they apply to trade between nations, operate essentially on the basis of cost comparisons between trading partners. The market does not care who produces what or under what circumstances. Hence, without work standards, the loss of economic sovereignty is tantamount to the loss of political sovereignty. Those countries that seek to protect their workers and their natural environment are placing themselves at an unfair advantage if they participate in trade without international regulations. What sense does it make, for example, to say that US industries must pay at least minimum wages, or submit to collective bargaining representation if a majority of the work force so wish, or refrain from employing children in dangerous occupations, or provide safe workplaces, or be prohibited from practicing employment discri-

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mination, or desist from sexual harassment on the job, or be prohibited from employing forced labor, or be required to adhere to strict environmental protection standards if private enterprises can simply move to Mexico (or anywhere else) and export their goods and services back to the United States at competitive advantages through non-adherence to such principles? To encourage such relocations would not only serve to undermine decades of policy and institutional development in the United States, but it would also represent a contemptuous belief that the welfare of Mexico and the lives of its workers (or those of any other nation) are of insignificant consequence.

It is not that trade among nations is a bad idea *per se*. In fact, it is a far superior option to the fighting that has traditionally occurred over the centuries between nations who became envious of what others had but they did not. Rather, it is that the goal of a nation's trade policy should be like that of any other public policy: it should be designed to further the national interest. Thus, the fundamental rationale for trade between nations should be to raise real living standards — not to contribute to an erosion of existing work standards, or a loss of employment opportunities, or to allow pollution of any nation's environment, or to provide a vehicle for employers in advanced nations by which to exploit workers in less developed countries for competitive gain. Yet these seem to be the implicit goals of evolving US trade policy — especially as it relates to the proposed free trade agreement with Mexico.

"...it seems to be forgotten that the United States economy was not built on the basis of free trade or anything that resembled it."

It is often forgotten these days that there are reasons why industrialized nations in the past have imposed man-made rules to govern the work place and to regulate trade between nations. It is one of the greatest weaknesses of contemporary free market economics that it is ahistorical. It should not be necessary, but it often is, to remind the current generation of US citizens as to why there are policy interventions in the marketplace. Without government regulation there were 'sweatshops', long workdays, unsanitary and unhealthy work places, unsafe working conditions, widespread employment discrimination, child labor, frequent spells of high unemployment, and a total disregard for the physical and natural environment.

As for trade, it seems also to be forgotten that the economy of the United States was not built on the basis of free trade or anything that resembled it. Indeed, its rise to world economic dominance was based precisely on the fact that it did not depend upon the control of foreign markets but, rather, on the production for its vast home market. The pace of US economic development was also greatly stimulated in the 20th century by the expanded production demand associated with two world wars that were fought on foreign shores. Immigration was sharply curtailed from the mid-1920s to the late 1960s. The US labor market over this time-interval generated high wage and high income jobs that became the envy of the world. In the process, the US economy developed a mass domestic market — especially for expensive and advanced goods and services that were produced by its highly heterogeneous industrial structure. As other industrial nations gradually regained and expanded their productive capabilities after World War II, they have been able to reclaim production for much of their own domestic markets. Moreover, because the US has been in the process of opening its marketplace for foreign competition entry since the early 1970s, some of these nations have been able to select and to pick-off certain sectors of the US economy for competition with their specifically tailored export policies. Even some less economically developed nations have been able to join the feast. Unconstrained at home by environmental and worker protection laws comparable to those in the United States, they can choose particular segments of the US economy that are susceptible to competition from their less costly production requirements. Or, alternatively, these nations can successfully attract formerly US-based enterprises to locate in their countries and then export back to the US the output that once was domestically produced at higher costs. Already a trend, this process would be vastly accelerated as an outcome of a free trade agreement between the United States and Mexico unless strong

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labor standards and environmental protections are included in any final agreement.

It is a sorrowful litany of economic woes that have befallen the US economy since it adopted its free trade stance. The United States, which for most of the 20th century had been a net creditor nation, has within the past decade become not only a net debtor, but the world's largest debtor. The value of the dollar has declined sharply and the depreciation of the currency has made the value of US businesses and land very attractive to foreign investors. As Japan's Vice Minister of Finance and International Affairs, Makato Utsumi, has said, the falling value of the dollar is "not putting American products on sale, but putting America on sale."[3] Indeed, the sale of domestic assets has been so extensive that the specter of the United States becoming the world's first internationally-owned nation is no longer a mere speculative possibility. It is becoming the most likely scenario should the indifference to the nation's long-term welfare be perpetuated much longer. In the process, the ideal of the "American dream" is being shattered as the people of the nation — collectively and individually — are increasingly unable to shape their own destinies. Foreign owners, motivated only by short-run profit goals, can hardly be expected to be as concerned with the long-term welfare of the citizens or the environment of the United States.

"The proposed...trade agreement needs to be subjected to lengthy debate in both countries followed by a period of prolonged implementation of comprehensive social reform in Mexico..."

In this same vein, the struggle by social reformers over the decades to develop a strong and viable labor movement as well as to enact a broad array of worker-protective policies and environmental safeguards is seriously endangered. None of these developments can be interpreted as representing positive trends; yet all can be linked directly to the "free trade" era that began in the 1930s; spread slowly in the post-World War II years; accelerated in the 1970s and 1980s; and is now in high gear in the early 1990s.

THE PRE-CONDITIONS FOR A VIABLE MEXICO-U.S. TRADE AGREEMENT

Before moving to the stage of including Mexico in a regional trade pact with the US and Canada, certain pre-conditions are necessary. These conditions are no different than those that other industrial nations, seeking to establish regional trading blocs, would agree to to govern their negotiations. In Europe, for instance, a central component of the move toward a regional European Economic Community has been a series of prior agreements on workplace standards, worker benefits, and common regulatory regimes.[4] The European negotiations have also involved proposals for massive governmental transfers of direct aid from the richer nations (e.g. Germany) to the poorer members (e.g. Portugal) to assure that when free trade between them starts it will benefit all the members. No such aid package for Mexico has even been mentioned in the Bush proposal.

The negotiations between Mexico and the United States over the feasibility of such an agreement should be predicated on the following broad principles:

- First, comprehensive labor safeguards and environmental protections must be included as integral features of any final accord and they must be spelled out in clear language that can be easily understood.
- Second, the basis for setting such standards should be with fairness to both Mexico and the United States (and Canada).
- Third, all parties that are going to be affected in the respective nations should be involved in setting the standards (i.e., the program should not only involve meeting the interests of businessmen but also those of workers, consumers, and environmentalists).
- Fourth, mechanisms for enforcement of standards must be in place prior to the actual implementation of such an agreement, and ways to verify compliance on an on-going basis must be included in the written terms.
- Fifth, equity concerns must be an essential part of any agreement to protect the weak in each nation from any predatory actions by powerful economic interests.

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- Sixth, the goal should always be to write standards that assure that societal living standards will be raised as a consequence of enhanced trade and not lowered in the future.

Realistically, it is likely that it will take a considerable number of years for the aforestated conditions to be met and to be agreed upon by both nations. But this is as it should be. After all, the process of economic integration in Europe, which is scheduled to take effect in 1992, began with the Treaty of Rome in 1958! Protracted debate and detailed studies were a prelude to each step along the way. It is unlikely that discussions with Mexico should take 34 years to complete but it is unlikely that anything agreed upon within the next decade or so could possibly be in the best interests of both nations.

The proposed Mexico-United States trade agreement needs to be subjected to lengthy debate in both countries followed by a period of prolonged implementation of comprehensive social reform in Mexico before any deal is consummated. In the meantime, the United States itself needs to enact a series of reforms. Among these are a firm commitment to full employment (with programmatic obligations); adoption of an enforceable immigration policy that is keyed to meeting demonstrated labor market needs and not to mollifying special interest groups; and establishment of a comprehensive human resource development program to assist individuals and communities to adjust to the adverse consequences of any trade policies. Both nations, and Canada too, would be wise to adopt a social agenda similar to that which is now part of the new trade relationship among the members of the EEC, which offers a much more enlightened alternative involving adherence to international rules, rather than to the free market path currently being advocated by the Bush administration.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATION

It is ironic that as communism seems to be collapsing around the world, economic policy in the United States seems designed to do its best to revive Marxism from its deathbed. After all, *Das Kapital* was a critical analysis of what reliance on purely free-market principles can produce. At the time of its publication in 1867, it correctly portrayed the exploitive proclivities inherent in unregulated free market systems. But Marx did not foresee, in the capitalist nations, the rise of a viable labor union movement, nor the adoption of worker protection laws and full-employment policies by governments, nor the creation of regulatory bodies to check otherwise unbridled private sector economic power. We can hope that history will not be ignored — that we do not revalidate the Marxian predictions of what the future may bring by recreating the economic climate that he described. ■

NOTES

1 American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, *Exploiting Both Sides: U.S.-Mexico Free Trade*, (Washington: AFL-CIO, 1991) p.3 [Based on data provided by the U.S. Department of Labor].

2 Wallace Peterson, "The Silent Depression," *Challenge*, (July-August, 1991), pp. 29-34.

3 D.E. Sanger, "Tokyo's Top Official for Overseas Trade is Critic of the U.S.," *New York Times*, August 8, 1989, p. D-1.

4 European Economic Community, "Community Charter on the Fundamental Social Rights of Workers," Adopted by the Heads of State and Government of the Member States, Strasbourg, France, December 9, 1989. See also, Michael Calingaert, *The 1992 Challenge from Europe: Development of the European Community's Internal Market*, (Washington: National Planning Association, 1988).

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Ray Marshall, Secretary of Labor from 1977 to 1981, teaches labor economics at the University of Texas, Austin. In this adaptation of an interview, he argues that the US must increase its supply of educated workers and its demand for a highly-skilled workforce. We thank New Perspectives Quarterly *for permission to reprint from their Fall 1990 issue.*

THIRD RATE WORKERS FOR A THIRD WORLD ECONOMY

By Ray Marshall

Increasing the *supply* of educated workers by reforming our schools and training programs is necessary to create a high-performance, high-wage economy. But that is not enough. Major changes in our industrial organization and national economic policies are also needed to create the *demand* for a highly-skilled work force.

The US is losing its status as a high-performance country because its industrial relations and economic policies have been slow to adjust to a more competitive world. Our failure to adapt implies economic decline, growing inequalities in wealth and income, and declining real wages — even though corporations based in the US may be able to maintain their profits, at least for a while, by continuing their traditional production systems and shifting employment to lower-paid workers overseas and in the US.

"The US is not going to be able to adapt to this new environment simply by increasing worker skills. Employers must be induced to reorganize the work force."

Unfortunately, many Americans accept these trends and see little need for the highly-skilled and highly-educated workers that would be required of a high-wage economy. In fact, since most American companies are not pursuing a high-wage strategy, they do not perceive a need for employees with better thinking skills.

The mass-production system of most US firms organizes work so that thinking, planning and decision-making is done by managerial, professional and technical elites. Line work is simplified so that it can be done by relatively unskilled workers. The assumption is that there is "one best way" to perform a task. It is management's responsibility to discover that one best method and impose it with detailed regulations, enforced by supervisors and inspectors. The assumption is that workers will loaf unless they are closely supervised. Therefore, management seeks to gain control of the work by standardizing work processes and transferring ideas, skills, and knowledge to managers and machines.

In today's more competitive world, dominated by knowledge-intensive technology, the key to economic success is quality, productivity and flexibility, not the economies-of-scale of traditional mass-production systems. Computerized technology makes it possible to gain competitive advantages through flexible manufacturing systems in which the same technology can be used to produce different products. Whereas the mass-production system's long production runs made it possible to amortize defects over those long runs, more customized, shorter production runs cannot afford many defects. Therefore, the workers must be capable of overriding the machines if the latter start producing defects.

The US is not going to be able to adapt to this new environment simply by increasing worker skills. Employers must be induced to reorganize the work force. Unfortunately, many US employers have become comfortable with the status quo, following a low-wage strategy — trying to compete against higher productivity abroad by paying lower wages at home. The low-wage strategy may work in the short run, but in the long run, it's a loser. In the long run, we are not going to win a wage-cutting contest with the Third World.

We now have public policies that encourage companies to pursue short-run, low-wage strategies. Like our increasingly successful European competi-

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tors, we must begin to reverse these policies and instead encourage work reorganization that emphasizes quality and flexibility by taking advantage of higher work-force skills.

In Sweden, for example, a full employment strategy, which forced work-place reorganization, was the nation's most important policy. A tight labor market meant that workers didn't have to take unskilled jobs. Indeed, though Volvo managers admit their original reasons for creating Volvo's famous work system had nothing to do with gaining increased productivity, gains in productivity were nonetheless a dramatic result. Their work system, which eliminated the progressive assembly line and made workers responsible for quality control over the entire product, was initiated because Volvo simply could not get well-educated Swedish workers to take assembly-line jobs, since there were other work opportunities available.

The US took a small step in the right direction when we adopted plant-closing legislation last year, making it a little more difficult to lay off workers. Now, employers know their workers must be kept on the payroll for a while, so they have more incentive to invest in the growth of those workers' skills. If the economic incentives are to lay workers off in a downturn, companies generally won't hire and train more skilled workers, since those workers will take their new skills to a new job, benefitting a competitor.

Austin, Texas provides a good example of what tight labor markets and proper public policy can accomplish. In the 1980s, both Motorola and IBM were competing in the Austin labor market. Local IBM managers, constrained by a corporate policy that forbids the layoff of workers in a downturn, were forced to compete by upgrading workers' skills. Motorola, on the other hand, followed a traditional layoff strategy. However, they found that each time they had a layoff, their best workers filled openings at IBM. Needless to say, they were forced to reconsider their strategy. As a result, they got the state's unemployment compensation rules amended so that, in a downturn, companies could work a shorter work week and retain their work force. This kind of unemployment compensation reform is now an incentive for work-force upgrading even for those firms not in competition with IBM.

Many of our companies take the short-run view and don't invest in hiring and training better-paid, skilled workers. One of the key reasons for this is that we have such high real interest rates in this country. If we get real interest rates down, thereby removing the pressure for managers to save cash for regular debt repayment, it would be easier for companies to take a longer view. Additionally, we should reform corporate law to make it more difficult for managers to pay themselves big salaries based on short-run performance. Lowering tax rates on long-term, as opposed to short-term, capital gains would help. We also need to reform our pension laws in order to make it easier for pension funds to create new assets by investing in job-creating activities, rather than simply bidding up the prices of existing assets.

"...improved job security for workers encourages managers to invest in their skills."

Further, we should have a national youth service that would provide job options but which would also require participants to prepare for a high-school equivalency diploma. Contrary to the views of most orthodox economists, I am convinced that having a much higher minimum wage would discourage employers from hiring young people who belong in school, training programs or youth service programs.

Like a low minimum wage, our poor income-support system for women creates the wrong incentives for employers. Our European competitors don't require women to take a low-wage job just to qualify for health care for their children. Due to their more favorable paid family-leave policies, European women can have time off, which tends to tighten the labor market and raise wages for everybody.

Orthodox economists also fail to understand that making it easier for workers to organize unions and bargain collectively is necessary to support high-performance enterprises. On one hand, improved job security for workers encourages managers to invest in their skills. On the other, workers are willing to go "all out" only if they feel their increased productivity will not make some of them superfluous. It is very difficult to have effective, cooperative arrangements between parties with greatly unequal power. Unions should be strengthened to challenge

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elitist management prerequisites and unfair compensation systems that not only create disunity but also have little to do with company performance. Stronger unions are likely to challenge management practices that maintain short-run profits to the detriment of workers' interests. Our competitor nations, for example, promote high-performance management practices through regulations that require consultation with workers' representatives or justification to public bodies before plants can be closed, wages cut, or workers laid off.

Giving worker representatives joint control of company pension funds would also help. Workers are much more likely to take a long view than corporate stock holders, since jobs are not nearly as mobile as investment capital.

Finally, our trade policies do not discourage American employers from following a low-skill, low-wage strategy. We should imbed labor standards in all our trade rules, requiring nations that export to us to respect the freedom to organize and bargain collectively, to maintain a safe and healthful work place, to prohibit forced labor and the exploitation of children. These labor standards would put a floor under international wage competition and help US managers to manage better rather than trying to compete by reducing labor standards. We have inserted these standards in every US trade bill passed in the 1980s, but to be effective, we need to make them a part of the GATT system. ■

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Herbert N. Woodward is the author of The Human Dilemma *and* Capitalism Can Survive in a No-Growth Economy. *His articles have appeared in several business journals. Mr. Woodward serves as Chairman of the Board of Intermatic, Inc. and Monroe Industries, Inc. This essay is taken from one of the same title that appeared in two parts in 1979 in* Human Survival, *the newsletter of Negative Population Growth. It has been revised and shortened for* The Social Contract *by the author.*

DISCOUNTING THE FUTURE

By Herbert N. Woodward

An old folktale concerns the young man who, having performed a great service for his king, was gratefully asked by the king to name his own reward. The young man proposed that a chess board be set out and that the king should pay him an amount of corn at the rate of one kernel for the first space, doubling each space thereafter. The king gladly accepted the proposal, believing he was committing to a small price. There are 64 squares on a chess board. When one kernel was handed over for the first square, two for the second, four for the third, and eight for the fourth, the king was certain that, indeed, the cost would be low. But for the twelfth square he paid 2,048 kernels, for the 21st square he paid over a million kernels and for the 34th square the price was over eight billion kernels. Shortly thereafter, and long before all the squares had been counted, the king saw he was ruined, handed over the entire kingdom and threw himself on the mercy of the young man who had taken advantage of his ignorance of exponential arithmetic.

Today we are like this king, unconcerned or unaware that nature works by the laws of exponential arithmetic and is playing the same game with us. Growth trends accelerate so rapidly that we find it hard to believe that what we thought would be the far distant future is already upon us. Like the sorcerer's apprentice, we sense that the whole system is out of control. It is hard to understand how our world works without some feel as to what exponential (or geometrical) arithmetic is like.

In plain terms, exponential arithmetic is 'compounding.' Growth is projected in the economy, in population, and in business at assumed compound rates. Business persons are accustomed to figuring the present value of a sum to be paid a number of years in the future. As an example, the standard compound interest and annuity tables tell us that the $100 we are to receive in ten years discounted at 6 percent (compounded monthly) is worth only $54.96 today. (Nature compounds not monthly, but continuously; but monthly is close.) Armed with this kind of information, the buyer and seller can determine what a purchase made in installments over a period of years is really worth now.

But when the time periods are longer than a few years, compound interest produces strange results. For example, at 6 percent assumed interest, $100 paid in 50 years is worth only $5.02 today and if it is paid in 100 years, only 25 cents. Many people now living will still be alive 50 years from now and their children and grandchildren in 100 years. But do these figures mean that what happens then has almost no significance now? I hope not, but most purely economic calculations would say 'yes.'

Most economists seem to believe that growth in a capitalist system may continue indefinitely even though certain resources will become scarce. They often rely on the theory that the supply-demand system in a free market will drive up prices enough so that we will turn to substitute materials which are too expensive today. If this is true, the argument goes, even though some resources may become scare there need be no limits to growth.

Since our economic system is based on short-term considerations, however, this doesn't work well enough. Prices do not rise fast enough to anticipate when a resource is running out. Why? Because the economic system puts little value on what will happen even a few years hence, so there is little anticipation of scarcity.

We come back to exponential arithmetic. We discount the future as a matter of course in every compound interest calculation. If a growth rate is assumed at any fixed rate compounded, the growth starts slowly and then accelerates almost

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unbelievably — as the fabled king found to his dismay.

Today we still find it difficult to believe how small increments mount up. For example, a 3 percent annual population growth (which is currently exceeded in many countries in the less-developed world) produces a population 19 times as large in 100 years. Yet how many people would realize how fast the figures climb? Our schooling gives us no preparation for this, even though the arithmetic is simple. In the present generation, scientists in many fields are becoming increasingly aware how important mathematics is to real understanding. Projections that sound reasonable for 5 or 10 years somehow seem absurd when extended to 50 or 100 years. Here are a few examples:

Electric utilities project the demand for electricity at least ten years ahead so that they can estimate how many power plants they will need. Present ten-year projections tend to assume a growth rate of demand averaging about 5 percent per year compounded. In ten years, this figure comes to 64 percent growth. But, in 50 years growth at that rate is over 12 times the original amount, and in 100 years it is over 146 times! Obviously such rates of growth cannot be considered seriously for more than a very few years. (All power users pay the price of high projections via rate increases to provide capital funds to build the plants to satisfy the projected demand. Such projections tend to be self-fulfilling in that once the plants are built the utilities have to use high-powered advertising to sell the power they now produce, whether it is needed or not.)

The entrepreneur who plans that his business will double in size every five years (approximately 14 percent a year) probably doesn't realize that at that rate of growth, sales will be over a thousand times as large in 50 years, and over a million times as large in 100 years.

Normally we don't look that far ahead. Few economic decisions involve considerations more than five or ten years into the future. The short-sighted nature of our economic policy is the principal reason why the supply-demand system will not protect us from shortages. Price will not rise fast enough to anticipate that a resource is running out. The arithmetic (or lack of arithmetic) in our economic system encourages the attitude: *après nous le déluge*.

During periods of inflation the problem is accentuated. An increase in the compound interest rate has much more effect than one might expect. Doubling the rate from 6 percent to 12 percent, for instance, means that in 50 years a 20 times multiple at 6 percent becomes a 391 times multiple at 12 percent and in 100 years it goes from a 397 multiple at 6 percent to an almost unbelievable 153,000 times at 12 percent.

The accompanying table shows the effect of compound increases over 50 years and 100 years at a number of annual percentage rates. Particularly when we have high rates of inflation, purely monetary decisions give almost no weight to events or prospects as little as 50 years ahead, as the table clearly shows.

TABLE I

EFFECT OF EXPONENTIAL INCREASES AT DIFFERENT RATES

Percent Annual Increase (Compounded Monthly)	Present Value of $1.00 in		Number of Times Multiplied In	
	50 years	100 years	50 years	100 years
1	61¢	37¢	1.65	2.72
2	37¢	14¢	2.72	7.38
4	14¢	2¢	7.37	54.2
6	5¢	0.3¢	19.9	397
8	2¢	0.03¢	53.9	2,900
10	0.7¢	0.005¢	145	20,900
12	0.3¢	0.0007¢	391	153,000
14	0.1¢	0.00009¢	1,050	1,110,000

(Rounded to the nearest cent or significant figure) [1]

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Advocates of continued growth point to the prospects of new discoveries of vast resources at current rates of consumption and, therefore, overestimate how long they will last. But if growth continues, even at a modest rate, supplies will be eaten up very rapidly. Because of this same exponential arithmetic, new discoveries do not extend our supplies for many centuries but for a much shorter time. As our rate of use continues to climb, we use up supplies faster and faster. Here are two examples of how this works:

(1) The ultimately recoverable amount of coal in the top 3,000 feet of the earth's crust would last about 5,000 years at the current rate of use. But if our use expands at the rate of only 4 percent per year, the same amount of coal would run out in 135 years.

(2) If we continue to use aluminum at the present rate, we have enough raw materials for 68,000 years. But at the present rate of expansion — 6.4 percent per year — we are only 140 years from exhausting the supply.[2]

Albert Bartlett capsulizes the effect of exponential arithmetic: "When consumption [of anything] grows at 7 percent per year, consumption in any decade is approximately equal to all consumption in previous history."[3] It is apparent that so long as the rate of use increases, exponential arithmetic automatically brings the future very close.

Improvements in technology cannot keep up forever at an exponential pace. Perhaps technology can keep on finding us substitutes for scarce resources but, if quality of life is not to suffer, such substitutes should be obtained at the same unit price as now prevails. Eventually, if quality of life is to improve, such substitutes must become less expensive and more available. Were this not true, there could be no real growth since it would take more effort and expense per unit to obtain the same result as today.

At this point the technological fix comes unstuck. If oil cannot be obtained from relatively shallow Arabian wells at the present estimated 50 cents a barrel cost at the well-head, but must be extracted from some relatively inaccessible place, is it reasonable to expect that it can cost *less*?

Necessarily, the giant oil companies are learning how exponential arithmetic works as they have to drill deeper and deeper to find oil, but this knowledge is hidden from most of us. Earl Cook describes it:

> *The exponential imperative, the barrier in work cost that we invariably encounter when we challenge scarcity...is well-illustrated by curves of drilling cost against depth of oil and gas wells drilled in Texas. In 1971, the drilling cost doubled with each 3,000 feet of depth. A hole drilled to 30,000 feet costs not six times more than one drilled to 5,000 feet, but 30 times more.*[4]

The oil companies rarely mention that the fuel they thus obtain will inevitably cost us that much more, although in their television commercials they applaud themselves for the great effort needed to obtain it.

Even a very low percentage of growth cannot be sustained indefinitely. Wilfred Beckerman, one of the more uncritical growth men, has stated that growth can continue at least another 2,500 years.

> *By that time, however, even if we assume only a 1 percent annual growth rate, the economy would be well over one trillion times its present size.*[5]

Continuous growth, therefore, is impossible. We must understand that it can only be a temporary phenomenon to be followed by stability or decline. It is not easy to recognize this — our whole lives cry out that it can't be true.

Ever since the eighteenth century, when the Industrial Revolution took off, growth has been the answer to every economic problem. Continuing inflation has accompanied this growth throughout this period, although at different rates at different times. Long ago we absorbed the work ethic. On top of this we have added the growth ethic. Both are now deeply embedded in our mores. ■

NOTES

[1] Computations checked by Dr. John W. Legge, Chairman of the Mathematics Department at Blackburn College.

[2] Robert E. Heilbroner, *Business Civilization in Decline*, New York: W.W. Norton, 1976, p.103.

[3] Albert Bartlett, "Forgotten Fundamentals of the Energy Crisis," *Journal of Geological Education*, 28, 9, (1980).

[4] Earl Cook in *The Sustainable Society*, Dennis Pirages, ed., New York: Praeger, 1977, p.31.

[5] Jack Parsons, *The Economic Transition*, London: Conservation Trust, 1975, p.11.

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CURRENT HISPANIC IMMIGRATION IS UNIQUE IN U.S. HISTORY

By Seth Mydans

LOS ANGELES —

Professor David Hayes-Bautista, a third-generation Mexican American who sends his daughter to Mexico for tennis lessons, is part of an immigrant wave that he says is unlike any other in American history. Because of the geographical closeness of the country of his ancestors and because of modern communications and transportation, he and other Mexican Americans are maintaining ties with their ancestral culture to a degree generally not possible for other immigrant groups.

The connections are vivid in interviews with Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles and form a unifying theme in a three-year study of Hispanic cultural attitudes by Hayes-Bautista, head of the Chicano Studies Research Center at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Although his study did not separate those of Mexican descent from other Hispanic people, Hayes-Bautista said he believed that many of the findings about cultural ties could be generalized to include descendants of Puerto Ricans, Cubans or other Hispanic nationalities who predominate in other areas of the country.

He said attitudes expressed by more than 1,000 participants in his study about language, culture and self-identification led him to conclude that Hispanic people are evolving to a bilingual, bicultural culture. "We could come back in 100 years and the Latinos will not have assimilated in the classical sense," Hayes-Bautista said. "I'm pretty sure they will still have a sense of being Latinos."

The nation's Hispanic minority grew by about 2.5 million people during the past decade, to about 22.4 million, or 8.9 percent of the US population in 1990, the census found. In California, about 7.7 million people, or 26 percent of the population, are of Hispanic descent. Mexican Americans make up 80 percent of the Hispanic population in California, as against 60 percent to 65 percent of the Hispanic population nationwide, Hayes-Bautista said.

If Mexican Americans have stronger cultural ties to their ancestral country than many other immigrant groups have had over the years, one explanation is the history of seasonal or temporary migration from Mexico.

Jobs in the north are one part of the national dream in a country that shares 2,000 miles of border with the United States. Continuing this tradition is 22-year-old Petra Gonzalez Rodriguez, who is from a village near Mexico City and sells Popsicles from a pushcart in Los Angeles. "If you work here for a week and you save enough to send $100 home, someone can eat for a month," she said.

In Hayes-Bautista's study, many respondents said that Hispanic history should be taught in schools and that children should maintain their family's Hispanic culture. These attitudes, along with a working knowledge of Spanish, were maintained to a significant degree through the third generation and beyond.

In his own family, Hayes-Bautista said, his daughter watches soap operas on the Spanish-language television stations that form an important link for the Hispanic population across the United States. For tennis lessons she travels occasionally to visit a cousin in Guadalajara, Mexico.

"I find that fascinating," Leo Estrada, a demographer at the University of California at Los Angeles who specializes in Hispanic immigration, said of the findings in the study. "He actually finds that the sequence that would be expected, from immigrant to second generation and on to become homogeneous, gets arrested."

Speaking of people who travel frequently to Mexico from their homes in the American Southwest for a birthday party or a weekend, Estrada said: "They never thought of themselves as having left totally. I think one of the most remarkable things I see is the number of people to whom the border has become artificial."

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One young Mexican immigrant, Jose Hernandez, a 26-year-old carpenter, described the paradoxical culture shock he experienced on discovering that he had arrived in a Mexican community in East Los Angeles — so self-contained that he could not even find anybody with whom he could practice speaking English. "When I first arrived in Tijuana I saw all these white faces, all these gringos," Hernandez said in Spanish. "I thought, 'That's what it must be like in the United States.' Then I came to East Los Angeles and I never see a white face."

Jose Gomez, 46, owner of La Famosa bakery, has lived in East Los Angeles for 30 years but has not learned English and said that in his heart he remains a citizen of Zacatecas, Mexico. Like a majority of those in Hayes-Bautista's study, Gomez places a high priority on family closeness. He said he was so uncomfortable with the thought that his children might move away, as American children often do, that he had bought four small houses nearby as graduation presents for them. ■

What Kind of Madness?

By Diana Walsh

SAN FRANCISCO —

When Lucy Lopez registered her son, Michael, for kindergarten two years ago, she pleaded with school administrators not to place him in a Spanish bilingual class. They did it anyway but they didn't keep him there. Within two weeks of his entrance into first grade, Michael, who is fluent in English and whose first language is Spanish, was transferred into yet another bilingual class — this one Chinese.

"When they first told me, I almost had a cow," Lopez said. "I asked them, 'Why my son, why not one of the others?'"

Participation in bilingual programs is supposed to be voluntary, and eventually Lopez relented and gave her consent. But she says she felt she had no choice. At Garfield Elementary, Michael's assigned school, every kindergarten class was bilingual. The only alternative would have been to bus him to a school farther from home.

And when administrators wanted to switch him to the Chinese class — a move made to balance the number of students in the school's first grade class-rooms — Lopez said she felt too pressured to say no.

Most of Michael's first grade class is taught in English, but his teacher often switches to Cantonese to instruct youngsters who don't always understand English. If the experts are correct, Michael is probably spending a good deal of his day blocking out much of what he hears.

"You've got to ask yourself what kind of madness this is," said bilingual expert Lily Wong Fillmore of UC-Berkeley. "What purpose does that serve except to confuse the poor child?"

Garfield principal May Huie, who acknowledged that Michael would be better off in a regular or Spanish bilingual class, said such moves are equally frustrating for administrators who face a massive juggling act each year when the district tells them how many bilingual classes they must provide.

Ligaya Avenida, who heads the bilingual department for The City's schools, says that although the district frowns upon schools that switch children back and forth between languages, it is not uncommon. "It's very difficult because of space problems," she said. "We could avoid it if every child came in at the beginning of the year, but with the daily influx of children, it's difficult."

Michael's mother, who graduated from San Francisco schools herself six years ago, remains concerned. "I was placed in a bilingual class and I felt it held me back," she said. "I didn't want that to happen to Michael."

[Ms. Walsh's article is reprinted by permission from the *San Francisco Examiner*, May 19, 1991, © 1991 San Francisco Examiner.]

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Wayne Lutton is a policy analyst and historian who has published widely on population and immigration concerns including, with Palmer Stacy, The Immigration Time Bomb (1985).

ARE THERE LIMITS FOR AUSTRALIA?

A Book Review

IMMIGRATION, POPULATION AND SUSTAINABLE ENVIRONMENTS:
THE LIMITS TO AUSTRALIA'S GROWTH By Joseph Wayne Smith

Which developed country would you imagine has the highest rate of population growth? If you guessed the United States or Canada, you are wrong. It is Australia, whose population is increasing at a rate 50 percent higher than either of those North American countries.

This population explosion is taking place in a deceptively large country, where three-quarters of its residents are virtually crammed into a few coastal metroplexes, the on-going expansion of which is destroying the best remaining arable land. In terms of its natural resource base (breathable air, clean water, fertile topsoil), Australia is already seriously over-populated. Yet her population continues to grow, fueled by an immigration intake 2 to 3 times higher, per capita, than that of Canada or the United States.

Although opinion polls indicate that the overwhelming majority of Australians oppose the current high rate of immigration, as in our country, in Canada, and in Western Europe, public concerns have not been translated into new political policies. In *Immigration, Population and Sustainable Environments: The Limits to Australia's Growth*, Joseph Wayne Smith, Queen Elizabeth II Research Fellow in Bioethics at Flinders University of South Australia, has collected twenty-seven papers prepared by experts from the fields of demography, environmental studies, economics, philosophy and politics. These shake the foundations upon which Australia's "pro-growth" programs rest.

Four contributors discuss the economics of immigration. They cite a 1989 Australian Treasury report admitting that the high rates of immigration were contributing to the country's current serious account deficit, and that large scale immigration provides no long term economic benefits to the nation at large. (Real estate developers, businesses that are "labor intensive," and ethnic lobbyists are among the special interests which do recognize gains.) Immigration helps spur the population growth that is responsible for a host of problems — among them an overburdened infrastructure, severe housing shortage, and the redirection of capital investments away from programs that benefit people already residing in the country. High levels of immigration may not be the root cause of Australia's economic and environmental problems, but there can be little question that immigration exacerbates them.

Specious demographic arguments are often offered as justification for expansive immigration policies. As with their U.S. counterparts, proponents of large scale immigration charge that Australia's population will shrink, age, and be less vital without the infusion of vast numbers of newcomers. Christabel Young of the Australian National University points out that Australia's population will continue to grow, even if no new immigrants are admitted, due to the on-going impact of the post-war baby boom. Asia is now the source of much of Australia's latest wave of immigration. Graeme Hugo of Flinders University documents the existence of an international "immigration industry" which is promoting this great movement of peoples to Australia, North America and Western Europe without regard to the best interests of the countries of destination nor, often, even of the migrants themselves.

Environmental concerns are discussed by thirteen contributors. Australia's environmental movement has failed to forthrightly address immigration — something that is also true of environmental groups in the United States. In Australia, as elsewhere, the cry of "racism" has been effectively employed by expansionist forces of both the Left and Right to suppress debate. Evonne Moore of the University of Adelaide observes that the charge of "racism" has stifled discussion of what should be widely argued issues.

F.E. Trainer of the University of New South

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Wales places his country's population questions within a global context. Here he notes that the world now confronts two population problems: "The most evident one is in the Third World, where many regions are experiencing high rates of population growth along with diminishing capacity to provide for people. Much less understood is the serious over-population of the rich countries which becomes glaringly apparent when numbers are multiplied by 'living standards.'"

The admission of refugees has become a contentious issue in Australia, as it has in so many other countries. John Coulter, who serves as a Senator in the Australian national parliament, takes the sensible view that it is far better to help refugees at the source rather than move them about the planet. W.F. Smyth, who holds concurrent positions at McMaster University in Canada and the Curtin University of Technology, goes further. In one of the most trenchant essays in this symposium he persuasively argues that the ideology of multiculturalism — an intellectual prop of the expansionist lobby — is, in practice, sparking polarization wherever it is allowed to influence public policy. All too often, he observes,

> *The immigrants have come, not because they care about the institutions, customs and traditions of their adopted country; they have come because they want more wealth, more comfort, more opportunity, better social services — understandable, but not noble ambitions. Multiculturalism allows them to expand these horizons; they find they are encouraged to try to change their new country to suit their own preferences — their own customs and traditions — and that, furthermore, anyone who argues against these attempts is called bad names. ... Multiculturalism brings permanent multipolarization.*
>
> *The reader should not imagine that I am opposed to people who wish to preserve their culture and identity. On the contrary, it is precisely because I very much wish to preserve my own way of life that I am able to understand those who feel the same way about theirs. The point is, however, that I do not wish* them *to preserve their culture at the expense of* mine.

The concluding essay is by Richard Sylvan who is with the division of philosophy and law at the Australian National University. Sylvan declares that, "There has been a concerted effort to conceal critical philosophical issues concerning immigration, even to close down crucial ideological parts of a proper immigration debate, and to remove informed opposition to immigration." Sylvan takes some fifty pages to dissect the philosophical positions of those who call for virtually unrestrained population growth. For all practical purposes, he feels that the United States and Canada are "lost causes" that have become "politically locked into an out-moded growth and development ideology." Australia should learn from their experiences, he argues. It is not wise strategy to attempt to resolve the over-population problems of other countries by promoting population expansion in the as-yet habitable portions of the globe.

Readers in other developed countries will come to appreciate that the problems they are now trying to face are already being confronted by the Australians. Many of the critiques and changes of policy that apply to Australia are worth considering by other developed countries that hope to preserve a sustainable political economy, defined here by Senator Coulter as "one which remains within the ability of the environment to sustain indefinitely the impacts which the economy places on it."

In *Immigration, Population and Sustainable Environment*, Smith gives us a model for the thoughtful analysis of these pressing issues. A book on this order is very much needed for American readers. By calling into question the ideology of perpetual population and economic growth, the contributors bring to mind a point raised in the last century by John Stuart Mill when, in his *Principles of Political Economy*, he exposed the fallacy of imagining that prosperity requires unending industrial expansion. Mill suggested that there are no compelling reasons why a country with a *stable* population should not be able to maintain both prosperity and justice — worthy goals for any society. ■

[*Immigration, Population and Sustainable Environments: Limits to Australia's Growth*, 487 pp., edited by Joseph Wayne Smith is published (1991) by the Flinders Press of the Flinders University of South Australia, Bedford Park, AUSTRALIA 5042.]

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This book review is by David Freeman, author of A Hollywood Life. *It is reprinted with permission from* The Wall Street Journal, *September 9, 1991.*

A DIFFERENT WAVE OF IMMIGRANTS

A Book Review

LOS ANGELES: CAPITAL OF THE THIRD WORLD By David Rieff

Los Angeles is surely the most insulted and least understood city in the country. David Rieff, in his sometimes illuminating, often maddening book says, "To most of the country, but particularly New York, Los Angeles [is] a fantasy, a place that exists everywhere except in real space . . . populated with myths rather than citizens."

But as Mr. Rieff himself shows in *Los Angeles: Capital of the Third World* (Simon and Schuster, 259 pages, $20), the city is changing at such an astonishing rate that assumptions of that sort are outdated. Los Angeles is no longer "Iowa by the sea." Nor is it anymore a place so achingly beautiful that Americans once flocked there to find earthly paradise. If it's anything, these days, it's Central America North or Asia East. That change, and what it holds for the future, is the subject of this book. The reasons for the change, like the old joke about the three rules of real estate, are: immigration, immigration, and immigration. Mr. Rieff knows that the water shortage, the traffic problems, the over-building, the near-collapse of the Unified School District, and perhaps even the troubles the Dodgers are having, grow from that issue.

Mr. Rieff is a New Yorker who spent part of his childhood in Los Angeles. He returned for several months in 1989 to gather information for this book. He has read widely and applied his interesting mind to the large problems and questions that confront the nation's second largest city.

Los Angeles is rapidly on its way to becoming a city with a Latino and Asian majority. Since Southern California was once part of Mexico, maybe that's fitting. The old uneasy coalition of Anglo- and Afro-American citizens may soon be irrelevant. Further, Los Angeles may already be a place in which more people don't pay taxes than do. Of course, everyone uses public services.

To live here is to know that Los Angeles is becoming a vast sea of the undocumented and the illegal. Many of them work hard; some even spend their money here. Many try to send it out of the country, mostly to Mexico and Latin America. Perhaps to underscore the contrast between the poor and the well-to-do, or to express his solidarity with the underclass, Mr. Rieff is tough on the gentry. His view might be characterized as neo-Marxist. It feeds off the idea that L.A., like capitalism itself, has always been based on the notion of expansion and development. But that belief, so central to our national history, may well have gone as far as it can here.

"For many reasons, not the least of which is that immigrants from Mexico can go home for the holidays, assimilation is not so much a goal as something to be wary of."

Mr. Rieff points out that this wave of immigrants is different from the Europeans who came to New York around 1900. That group, my grandparents among them, were determined to assimilate. That is different from the situation in Southern California today. For many reasons, not the least of which is that immigrants from Mexico can go home for the holidays, assimilation is not so much a goal as something to be wary of. In parts of East Los Angeles, it is said, there are third-generation residents — citizens of this country by birth — who speak only Spanish.

Mr. Rieff's achievement is tracing and illuminating this situation. He is neither an anthropologist nor an historian. Rather, he is an observer and analyst of what is around him. He is, not surprisingly, critical of Los Angeles' West Side — the high-rent district and home of the inflated real

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estate market, where politicians from all over the country come to raise money. Mr. Rieff calls this part of town the pleasure dome. He believes that the cushy life he perceives there is run on the backs of illegal immigrants who are all but ignored by their masters — who are busy discussing German reunification.

L.A.'s West Side is certainly open to criticism and satire, but Mr. Rieff's picture seems neither fair nor revealing. Breezy references to Coleridge notwithstanding, his characterization of West Siders at home is drawn with a heavy hand. It is a commonplace, easily observed, that those West Siders are involved in the lives of their employees— helping them with their papers, finding computers for their school-age kids, guiding them through bureaucratic thickets. This might be *noblesse oblige,* but it is necessary and it is done without much comment. My evidence is anecdotal, but that is also Mr. Rieff's approach.

The book is marred by a number of minor historical inaccuracies and odd characterizations. Mr. Rieff seems to think that what I take to be Santa Monica Canyon is called "Croissant Canyon." Nobody I know has ever heard that phrase. He also believes that when locals avoid the freeways, they call that "going surface."

But his large conclusion — that Los Angeles is a divided city and that so long as heads stay in the sand about the particular modern nature of immigration, no good will come of all our hopes for the future, is clearly set forth. The further point, implicit in his argument, is that Los Angeles, long the point city for trends and change, is likely to be a harbinger for this sort of urban population shift. Like the international currencies that in time of trouble rush to the dollar for shelter, Third World refugees run to the US. Los Angeles is not the only city they will call home.

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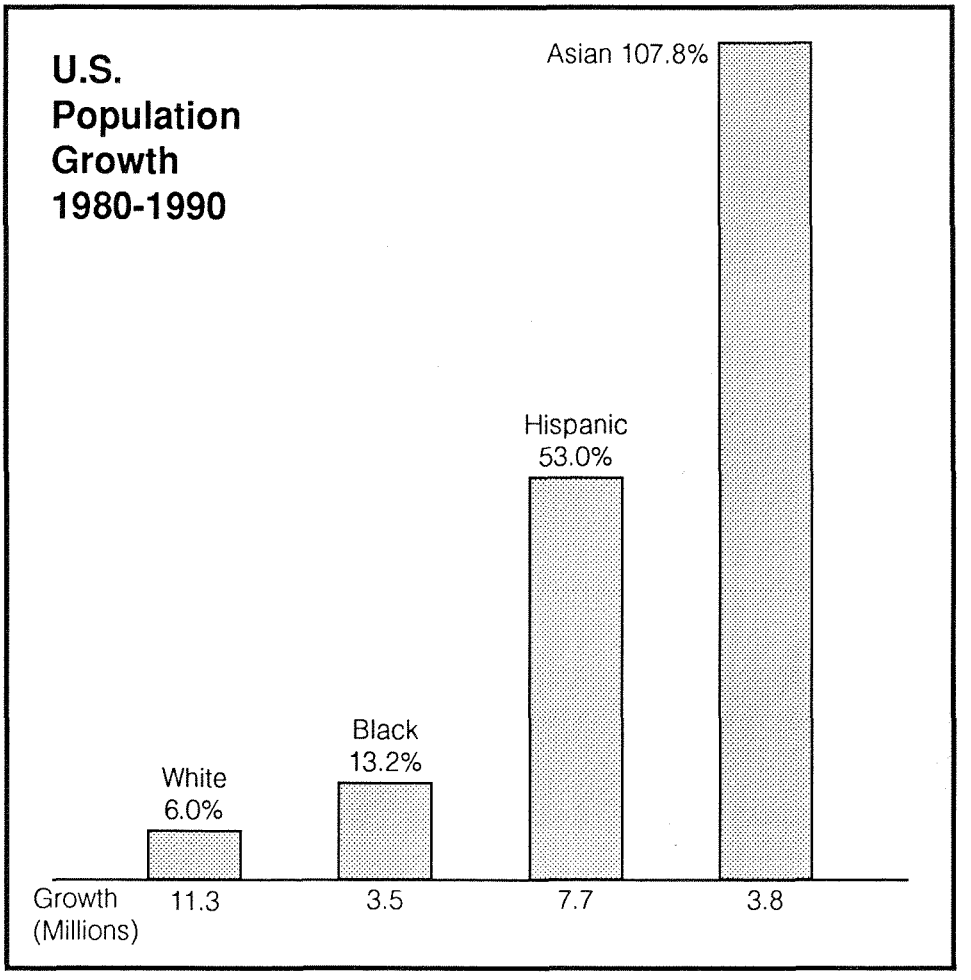

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This reviewer, John Rohe, is an attorney in Petoskey, Michigan. In the Spring 1991 issue of The Social Contract (Vol. I, No. 3) *he gave our readers an introduction to the computer software, "P.C. Globe," indicating how informative it was in the debate about population growth.*

PASSING THE TORCH

ENLIGHTENMENT FOR THE NEXT GENERATION

A Book Review

CHILDREN'S ATLAS OF THE ENVIRONMENT, Rand McNally, 1991.

New occasions teach new duties; time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still, and onward, who would keep abreast of Truth.
— James Russell Lowell, 1819-1891

Why does conventional wisdom assail the morality of population control? Why are proponents of immigration reform conveniently ignored? Why do our courts set aside environmental protection and zoning laws in favor of private economic interests? Why do business interests commonly trump ecological concerns in our legislatures? Perhaps these questions can, in part, be analyzed by considering the factual backdrop against which our conventional ethics and laws were evolved.

Recorded history documents man's emergence as the single species that would control the planet. The mentality for conquest was developed during an era of vast resources and unlimited frontiers. The ethics of population control and immigration reform cannot be appreciated until notions of "carrying capacity" replace the ingrained traditions that foster economic exploitation of the ecology. The challenge involves laying the groundwork for a new ethics of ecological responsibility. When and where do we begin?

The Rand McNally *Children's Atlas of the Environment* is a good start for school age children. The 79 pages of maps, illustrations, photographs, and text begin with an explanation of the Earth as a balanced system which supports living things. It explains the harmonious relationship of the sun, water, air, flora, fauna, land, and population. The *Atlas* next addresses how the balance has been upset by loss of soil, air pollution, fouled water, destroyed plant life, threatened animal life, and overcrowded human life. Major environmental problems are categorized by continental region: the acid rain in Europe, soil erosion in southern Asia, expanding deserts in Africa, hazardous waste and energy use in North America, and the desecration of rain forests in South America. The *Atlas* anticipates the child's question: "How can we help?"

The *Children's Atlas of the Environment* contrasts the established harmonious balance in nature with a burgeoning population. Although the ethics of population control and immigration reform is an issue beyond the scope of this work, the framework upon which future generations may evaluate these issues is capably set forth. The concise visual and textual presentation intended for children (and certainly a worthwhile read for adults) is free of cumbersome statistics. Hopefully, the next generation will remember environmental literature of this nature when, for example, evaluating what amounts to an unconstitutional "taking" by a zoning authority.

With parental assistance, this writer's eight-year-old son is able to comprehend the text. The book seems ideally suited for children in late grade school through early high school. It retails for $14.95.

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